

# REHA APERAHAMA: A NGATI RAHIRI RANGATIRA

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**Te Aroha Mining District Working Papers**

**No. 31**

**2016**

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ISSN: 2463-6266

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## REHA APERAHAMA: A NGATI RAHIRI RANGATIRA

**Abstract:** *Reha Aperahama had an illustrious whakapapa and was affiliated to several hapu. His father was notable as one of the most loyal rangatira (from the Crown's perspective) in Hauraki, and Reha followed his lead, probably in part because of the financial rewards he received from selling land to settlers. He tried to maximize his income from this source, spending several years pleading for permission to sell his Te Kawana block (near Te Aroha). After opposing Ngati Haua ambitions to acquire the Aroha block, by 1878 he was willing to encourage road building.*

*Reha was regularly before the courts because of his inability or reluctance to pay his debts, occasionally perjuring himself to avoid liability. In his later years he had little money. Despite occasionally being drunk and even violent, he was an important figure in Maori society, with a leadership role in his hapu and in the Mormon church. He was also notable for his marital complications.*

### ANCESTRY AND FAMILY

Reha Aperahama (always referred to as Reha) and his brother Aihe Pepene<sup>1</sup> (referred to here as Pepene) had an illustrious whakapapa. In 1868, their father, Aperahama Te Reiroa, provided details of his immediate ancestry to the land court when applying for Kauaeranga No. 19. Te Umu fathered a son, Te Makiringa, who married Te Ru. Their younger daughter Hotai married Te Hiki, and they became his parents.<sup>2</sup> Te Hiki was killed in 1830 at the battle of Taumatawiwi.<sup>3</sup> In 1878, Te Reiroa gave the following whakapapa:

Tangata  
Ikahaere  
Here  
Teru  
Otai,  
and then himself.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See paper on his life.

<sup>2</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 2, p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 28, p. 133.

<sup>4</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 10, p. 272.

Teru (or Te Ru) was a woman who married a Hauraki man.<sup>5</sup> In another case, Aihe Pepene traced descent from Rangikaikowheti, a male, then Te Ru, whose daughter Hotai, in this spelling, was the mother of Aperahama Te Reiroa.<sup>6</sup> When Reha wished to succeed a great uncle in 1886, he gave his mother as Hera and her father as Marua, son of Taora and Paretaihiki.<sup>7</sup> Another succession case gave his mother's full name as Hera Te Whaunga.<sup>8</sup> In a third succession case, in 1891, Reha gave this whakapapa:

Te Pupi

Te Ahikereru

Te Hika

Aperahama Te Reiroa.<sup>9</sup>

For the Kareremokai Block, Pepene traced his father's descent from another ancestor:

Rangikaikowheti

Tamarangi

Teru

Hotai

Aperahama Te Reiroa.<sup>10</sup>

Depending on what block of land he claimed ownership of, Reha gave affiliations to different hapu. His father, and therefore his sons, was a member of Ngati Rahiri and of Te Huarua, both hapu of Ngati Maru.<sup>11</sup> His father was also affiliated to Ngati Te Aote.<sup>12</sup> Reha was included in Okauia as a member of Ngati Hinerangi.<sup>13</sup> When Otautu No. 1 was being considered in 1891, he cited Uringahu.<sup>14</sup> His mother was of Ngati Rahiri.<sup>15</sup>

According to the records of his church and an obituary, Reha was born either at Thames or, vaguely, 'Hauraki' in 1850; according to the age he

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<sup>5</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 8, p. 361; no. 10, p. 276.

<sup>6</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 14, p. 127.

<sup>7</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 19, p. 43.

<sup>8</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 21, p. 20.

<sup>9</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 27, p. 183.

<sup>10</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 11, p. 112.

<sup>11</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 10, pp. 271, 319, 389; no. 11, p. 118.

<sup>12</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 27, p. 182.

<sup>13</sup> Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 4, p. 182.

<sup>14</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 27, p. 183.

<sup>15</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 22, p. 136.

gave in 1886, he was born in 1856.<sup>16</sup> He said he was born at Waihou,<sup>17</sup> probably a reference to the river not the future settlement. In 1878 a newspaper described him as a ‘young chief’.<sup>18</sup> He was educated at Thames,<sup>19</sup> but details have not survived. As he told a land court hearing, his parents ‘had a large family’, but by 1883 he and Pepene were ‘the sole survivors’.<sup>20</sup> Their deceased siblings were Te Hemara Aperahama, Riria Aperahama, and Hori Aperahama.<sup>21</sup> According to an obituary, Reha was the elder brother,<sup>22</sup> but a whakapapa he gave in 1891 showed him as being the younger brother.<sup>23</sup>

Hera Te Whaunga (sometimes given as Waunga)<sup>24</sup> died in December 1880, rumoured to be 90 years old.<sup>25</sup> If that was the case, and Reha was born in 1850, she gave birth to him when aged 60, making one of these dates wrong. The other Thames newspaper simply stated that she died at ‘a ripe old age’; because of her importance, ‘a great “tangi” ’ was to be held.<sup>26</sup> Two weeks after her death, ‘about 100 Maoris’ came from Katikati and Tauranga to participate in the tangi.<sup>27</sup>

When Aperahama Te Reiroa died in July 1883,<sup>28</sup> the *Te Aroha News* described him as a chief of Te Aroha:

The deceased was one of the few loyal Hauraki, and who throughout all the troubles stuck staunchly to the European

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<sup>16</sup> Church of Latter Day Saints, Record of Members, Early to 1919, Te Aroha Branch, no. 40, LDS Archives, Hamilton; Armed Constabulary Force, Report of Charges taken at Te Aroha Lock Up 1880-1903, 42/1886, in private possession; *Thames Advertiser*, 13 May 1897, p. 2.

<sup>17</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 8, p. 453; *Thames Advertiser*, 13 May 1897, p. 2.

<sup>18</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 2 February 1878, p. 3.

<sup>19</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 13 May 1897, p. 2.

<sup>20</sup> Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 12, p. 3.

<sup>21</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 2, p. 19.

<sup>22</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 13 May 1897, p. 2.

<sup>23</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 27, p. 183.

<sup>24</sup> For example, Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 13, p. 335.

<sup>25</sup> *Thames Star*, 18 December 1880, p. 2.

<sup>26</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 20 December 1880, p. 3.

<sup>27</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 8 January 1881, p. 3.

<sup>28</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 15, pp. 151-152.

cause. He had embraced Christianity, and for about twenty years was a lay preacher in the Church of England amongst his countrymen. He owned considerable property on the Thames goldfields, and was greatly respected by both Maoris and Europeans.<sup>29</sup>

Although obituaries traditionally praise the deceased, he had indeed supported Pakeha settlers. In 1869, when Te Kooti was fighting the Crown, he spoke at a Maori meeting in Thames:

I am much pleased with what I have heard in relation to endeavours made to put down the fighting and establish peace. The people will wish well to Mr [John] Williamson [Superintendent of Auckland Province] on that account. If he continues to hold these views my heart will be the same as his. That is the greatest sign of goodness, namely, to try and maintain peace; and that is the great thing we wish to maintain – peaceful relations with the Europeans. That is the thing we have been keeping in our hearts, namely, to unite ourselves to those who wish to establish peace in New Zealand. The shedding of blood is a bad thing.

A leading member of the Thames community praised him, like other named rangatira, for being ‘honest’ and ‘honourable’.<sup>30</sup> In 1873, at a time of heightened tensions because of the murder of a surveyor, Timothy Sullivan, near Cambridge, he was one of the rangatira who spoke at another meeting of Maori:

An oath (agreement) had been made here formally that none of them should go and join the Waikatos in their bad work. He now said to them, let them keep to that oath and remain in Hauraki. They must send notices to Piako and Ohinemuri, and all through their boundaries for all the people to remain quietly at their own places. Let not even those who were called Hauhaus at Piako enter upon this bad work. If any of the people within these boundaries went, let them never return.<sup>31</sup>

That Aperahama Te Reiroa was a leading rangatira of Ngati Maru was indicated, for example, by the owners of Kauaeranga No. 13 agreeing that

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<sup>29</sup> *Te Aroha News*, 4 August 1883, p. 2.

<sup>30</sup> *Auckland Weekly News*, 23 October 1869, p. 18.

<sup>31</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 1 May 1873, p. 3.

his portion of this block be the tapu part next to the sea.<sup>32</sup> In the early days of the goldfield, he arranged the leasing of Kauaeranga No. 16 (at Waiotahi), changing the arrangements because he was upset by the affront of a lessee riding past him.<sup>33</sup>

According to Aparahama Te Reiroa's 1874 statement, because miners walked over his cultivations on the Waiotahi flat he soon agreed to lease the land to Robert Graham (who called this land Grahamstown) 'because in that way he was likely to get food from the land'.<sup>34</sup> But he opposed losing more land. In 1869, after the government introduced the 'Thames Sea Beach Bill' to acquire the mudflats from their Maori owners, he was the principal signatory to a petition to parliament of 12 rangatira on behalf of 'the Assembly of Ngatimaru':

O friends, salutations. O friends, hearken to what we have to say. We did not give Waiotahi – from Tarawhati thence to Waiotahi on to Tararu, and thence out to the sea. These pieces were not given to the Governor; we still hold them. What was given was the mountain. The line for you has been laid down. Our sea and our places were left to us as places where we could obtain food. That was not given up to the Governor. Well, why have they been taken? Tell us the reason, our fault, on account of which you have taken them. We have been living quietly, and you also. Now, for the first time, we know that you are evilly disposed towards us. Is not the taking of land a cause of evil? And when evil comes, you judge it and say that the Maoris are wrong; and you write to other countries, saying that the Maoris are an evil race; but it is on account of that work of yours, and not the fault of the Maoris. Now, O friends, leave to us the disposal of our pieces, Tarawhati, Waiotahi, and Tararu. Mr Mackay knows what we have said from the commencement up to this day. We have not given up these pieces to the Government; therefore we say to you work correctly, for the Hauhaus are laughing at us. They say, "It serves you right to be troubled by the Government; you gave up the gold to the Europeans." Therefore we said, "who suspected that evil would come of it?"

Now, we rejoiced at first; at present we are very sad on account of your work. Friends, there is no cause for this work. This work of yours towards us is very wrong.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 2, pp. 17-18.

<sup>33</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 3, pp. 141, 155-156, 183, 193-196.

<sup>34</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 6 February 1874, p. 3.

<sup>35</sup> Petition of Aparahama Te Reiroa and 11 others, 5 August 1869, 'Report of Committee on Thames Sea Beach Bill', *AJHR*, 1869, F-7, p. 18.

In 1873, when Aperahama Te Reiroa was living beside the Kauaeranga River, he went with Ngati Maru to drive off cattle placed on Waiharakeke by Henry Alley with Ngati Haua permission.<sup>36</sup> He then returned to Thames, not being one of the Ngati Maru who settled permanently at Te Aroha to keep Ngati Haua at bay.

### REHA'S EARLY LIFE

In 1868, Reha's family was living at Kaitawa, a 'native village ... a little above Shortland'.<sup>37</sup> (In the 1880s he continued to own land there, with a 'native house' on it.)<sup>38</sup> In 1875, he told the land court that he was living at Peka-o-Hawaiki, part of the Waihoanga No. 1 Block. (Several of these blocks of land can no longer be traced.) His father had cultivated this land, 'and I also have lived on it'.<sup>39</sup> When the Korioi Block was before the court, he said he had lived at Pukekorohae for the two years before the Taranaki War, and with his father had cultivated Mitikera, living in a 'bad house' erected by his father.<sup>40</sup> In 1889, he applied for Arekirau No. 6, which had been given to Hohepa Paraone under 'aroha' by his mother and her younger sister Erana because he had no house there. 'After the gift my mother said to me "Erect a house for yourself near to the house of Hohepa Paraone – and I built a four room house – which is now standing there – I paid a £130 for it'. He had been told to build it so that he could live with this distant relative, but after its erection 'there was a great deal of quarrelling between N. Tamatera and N. Rahiri – then I ceased living with Paraone and went to reside at Te Aroha' because 'my mother was living there and I was connected with the people – my father also was there'. He dated the erection of Paraone's house to the time of the Waikato War, when with others Reha had brought Paraone from Tauranga to confer with other chiefs to prevent the war spreading to Thames; they provided him with this house.<sup>41</sup> If he was born in 1850, he would have only been 13, hardly an adult, as he

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<sup>36</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 4 June 1873, p. 3, 9 June 1873, p. 3.

<sup>37</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 2, p. 19; no. 3, p. 170.

<sup>38</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 21, p. 252.

<sup>39</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 8, p. 358.

<sup>40</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 8, p. 453.

<sup>41</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 21, pp. 242-244.

described himself,<sup>42</sup> nor likely to have arranged the erection of a house; if born in 1856, this was even less likely.

In 1891, Reha recalled travelling with Aihe Pepene to the Bay of Islands ‘to get our sister who had died there’, but could not remember the year. ‘When we went there some slaves taken by Ngapuhi from Ngatimaru came to see us’. He explained to the court that ‘at the time of the missionaries there were many of N’Maru living at Bay of Islands’, including some Ngati Tumutumu, taken there as slaves.<sup>43</sup>

### WAS REHA RESPONSIBLE FOR THE OPENING OF WAIOTAHİ?

The controversial opening of the Waiotahi Block for mining in September 1867 was the direct result of the behaviour of one of Aperahama Te Reiroa’s sons. The newspapers provided a detailed report of this first case of conflict between Maori and Pakeha, heard by the magistrate and civil commissioner, James Mackay; the warden, Allan Baillie; and the ‘Native Assessor’, Wiropo Hoterene Taipari:

Louis Lewis, European; Wiremu Jeremiah and Meke, both natives, were charged with committing a breach of the peace. Lewis and Meke pleaded not guilty. Jeremiah pleaded guilty. Jeremiah having been told to retire under charge of a native constable, Constable Wallace, being sworn, deposed that, yesterday afternoon, while at the beach, he took notice of a disturbance. Saw a Maori taking away a native woman. Walked close up, and saw the Maori, who pleaded guilty, in the act of pulling off his shirt as if he were going to fight. Observed him strike the woman, when Lewis rushed past and struck the native on the face. Meke, who pleads not guilty, rushed forward and caught Lewis by the hair of the head, and struck him two or three times. Several Europeans interfered; could not say whether it was to prevent them fighting or not. A general row ensued, which separated him from the prisoners. When he next saw them they were in the water beyond their depth. Saw the native prisoners push the European under water twice. Considered he was in danger of being drowned, the water being deep. Shouted to them to let go. The Maoris made their escape to the opposite side of the creek, and remained there until the Magistrate came down, and ordered them to be taken into custody.

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<sup>42</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 21, p. 242.

<sup>43</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 27, p. 184.



Lewis had struck the first blow. A surveyor who had seen the 'occurrence' then gave evidence:

Saw some Maoris in the act of taking away a Maori woman in a canoe, using violence. Europeans called out, "Shame." Among the Europeans who interfered was Lewis, the prisoner. Maoris turned round and shoved back the Europeans.... Two natives were engaged holding the woman down on the ground, and were pummelling her with their fists. The Europeans wished to interfere.... Constable also interfered to prevent this ill-treatment. After taking the woman away in the canoe, the prisoner Jeremiah went to Lewis and asked him to fight. It was then that witness first saw Meke tuck up his shirt sleeves and wish to fight also. The crowd then got between witness and the parties fighting. The next thing he saw was the natives ducking the European, after which the two Maoris got into a boat and went to the other side of the creek.... Should say that ten minutes had elapsed between the time the woman was taken away and when Jeremiah offered to fight.

An assistant surveyor provided extra details:

Meke was dragging Lewis towards the creek by the hair. Witness and some others caught hold of them to prevent their going into the water. They fell into the water, and the native prisoners tried to keep Lewis under. Lewis succeeded in getting ashore, and the Maories escaped in a boat. While they were in the water, saw a boy about 14 or 15 years of age jump in and catch Lewis by the hair, and hold his head under.

By the prisoner Lewis: At one time I did not think your life was safe, so much so that I took off my coat to jump in to your assistance.

Lewis stated that, when he saw 'Jeremiah in the hands of the constable', he 'made a dart and struck him. Jeremiah dragged him into the creek, and kept him down under water' for some seconds. 'Another Maori made towards him, and pulled him by the hair of the head. After that he made his escape to the shore'. Jeremiah's witness Rupena said Meke pulled Lewis to the water.

Meke was asked by the Court if he had anything to say. He stated that the European commenced fighting with Jeremiah; he struck him on the eye – the mark is now visible. Lewis also struck at witness and hit him near the chest. The Europeans were pulling

at them, and both of them fell into the water. He (Meke) caught him by the shoulder when he sunk under.

After Jeremiah had nothing to say 'in mitigation of punishment', all parties were found guilty of common assault, Mackay doubting that Lewis was defending the woman. Jeremiah and Lewis were fined £3 and costs, or one month's imprisonment with hard labour, and Meke as fined £5 and costs, or two month's hard labour. Mackay

cautioned all Europeans not to interfere in Maori quarrels. Had a tomahawk been used by a native, the temptation to use which in a moment of anger he could not resist, the consequences would have been most serious; life might be lost, and the footing the Europeans had now obtained would be cancelled. It was by the good conduct of all persons in the district that he hoped to prevail on the natives to sustain that footing. He addressed the natives in a similar manner; and also said that, if the native woman who was so roughly treated would make complaint, he would punish the natives who attacked her to the extent of his power.<sup>44</sup>

The consequence, in the words of a correspondent, was 'the most important event' since the opening of Karaka for mining a month previously, for 'the long-wished-for Waiotahi district' was opened for mining because of this 'most trivial cause'. As they had no money to pay Meke's fine, his relatives, 'not wishing to see him working on the roads, made overtures to Mr Mackay to sell a particular block of land which has not yet been available for the amount of the fine'. Mackay 'seized the opportunity', telling Rapana Maunganoa,<sup>45</sup> the negotiator, 'that he would advance the amount as payment, in advance of the money which would accrue to him if he would open his portion of the Waiotahi block'. This offer was accepted, the money paid, and within half an hour the surveyors were 'marking out the ground, which was pegged out as they made progress over the ground. Thus the only link which was broken in the line of country between the Karaka and the Tuta has been connected, by the aptness of the Civil Commissioner in his dealings with the natives'.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Magistrate's Court, *Auckland Weekly News*, 7 September 1867, p. 6.

<sup>45</sup> See paper on Maori and goldfields revenue.

<sup>46</sup> Thames Correspondent, *Auckland Weekly News*, 7 September 1867, p. 6.

One historian described this as an ‘unscrupulous handling of Maori interests’.<sup>47</sup> Another felt that ‘this instance of what in the nineteenth century went merely by the name of “sharp practice” would today be called coercion or extortion’.<sup>48</sup> In 1869, Mackay wrote that at the time ‘many misrepresentations’ were made about how he opened this block, and indicated that Aperahama Te Reiroa was one of the ‘opposing portion’ of Ngati Maru who had not wanted their land opened.<sup>49</sup> When the ‘great disturbance’ occurred, his fear of ‘a serious fracas between natives and Europeans’ had caused him to accompany police to the scene and arrest the three men. In his version, written two years after the event, both Meke and Jeremiah were sons of Te Reiroa, which conflicted with the correspondent’s report that only Meke was.<sup>50</sup> In 1901, in responding to criticism in a Sydney newspaper, Mackay wrote that Aperahama Te Reiroa was ‘father to one prisoner, and uncle to the other’, and recalled that the cause of the conflict was Lewis having ‘bought a dog from one Maori, and two others claimed it, and tried to take it from him, but he assaulted them’. Because of the lack of a proper lock-up, all three prisoners were handcuffed to ‘a chain stapled round the centre post of the whare’ that served as his house and office. As the two Maori could not pay their fines, they ‘were attached to the chain all night and lay down surrounded by miners’. When Te Reiroa begged him to release them, he was told that the fine must be paid first. ‘He then offered to give up Waiohanga (known as Stoney Point) north of Paeroa, for gold mining’, but ‘it suddenly occurred to’ Mackay that Te Reiroa was ‘the principal obstructive’ preventing the opening of the Waiotahi Block.

I said, “Let me have Waiotahi. I will give you £10 on account of miners’ rights fees and you can hand it to Constable Wallace, who will release the prisoners.” The old man burst out in a profuse perspiration, mopped his face for some time with a handkerchief, and said, ‘Mackay, you are a very hard man. Let them go; never mind Waiotahi.’ I showed him the warrants which had been made out, and he then gave a reluctant consent.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> J.H.M. Salmon, *A History of Goldmining in New Zealand* (Wellington, 1963), p. 184.

<sup>48</sup> Paul Monin, *This is My Place: Hauraki contested 1769-1875* (Auckland, 2001), p. 211.

<sup>49</sup> ‘Report by Mr Commissioner Mackay relative to the Thames Gold Fields’, *AJHR*, 1869, A-17, pp. 4, 6.

<sup>50</sup> Mackay, p. 6; Thames Correspondent, *Auckland Weekly News*, 7 September 1867, p. 6.

<sup>51</sup> *New Zealand Herald*, 10 August 1901, p. 5.

Whether one of these Maori was Reha cannot now be determined; none of the names of his sons matched Meke or Jeremiah, but then sometimes their names were fluid. His later drunkenness and violent behaviour suggests that he could have been the son of Te Reiroa who, unintentionally, caused the extension of the originally-limited goldfield. Mackay considered that obtaining the right to mine Waiotahi

was a fortunate circumstance, which prevented a serious misunderstanding arising between the two races at that time. The European population was increasing, and the miners were becoming daily more discontented at the land not been rendered available for mining purposes, as it was known to be rich.<sup>52</sup>

The Waitangi Tribunal, asked to condemn Mackay's action as a breach of Treaty principles, declined to do so after finding 'no evidence to suggest that the incident involving Te Reiroa's sons was anything other than fortuitous. Because of the mounting tension between Maori and miners, Mackay appears to have been justified in fearing that their fight ... may have led to a general fracas', and he 'acted responsibly' in arresting and charging those involved. 'Although the two Maori had difficulty paying the fine (and would have been removed to Auckland to serve their sentences) it is extravagant to suggest that Mackay "kidnapped" Te Reiroa's sons or effectively held them to ransom'. Their father '*came to Mackay* to solicit' their release 'and ask for a loan to pay the fines', as was quite normal. 'The only question at issue', the tribunal felt, was 'whether Mackay should have made the loan as an advance on miner's rights fees *from Waiotahi*, rather than against any other income Te Reiroa may have had'. His action was 'opportunistic' and may have 'even constituted unfair pressure', but Mackay had expected the Waiotahi block 'to be open in a few days' time, and perhaps took it as a matter of course that it would be from that source that Te Reiroa would repay the advance'. Mackay agreed to Te Reiroa's request

that the flat land be demarcated as a cultivation reserve and mining confined to the hills. The strong pressure to secure an agreement was apparent; the line was cut and the field rushed that afternoon. It seems very likely that, in the circumstances, and with considerable Maori consent to opening Waiotahi already

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<sup>52</sup> Mackay, p. 6.

negotiated, some such result must have soon occurred, with or without the fight and the court case.<sup>53</sup>

Meaning that, even if Reha was one of those fined, his behaviour was not really the reason why Waiotahi was opened.

## OWNING LAND

In 1868, Te Reiroa obtained Kauaeranga No. 14, part of the Thames foreshore,<sup>54</sup> for all his family and three others, basing his application on ancestry and because 'we have always been in undisturbed occupation'. Clearly with a view to renting or selling, they did 'not wish any restrictions placed on the Grant. We have plenty of land elsewhere'.<sup>55</sup> The family also received Kauaeranga No. 16 and No. 19, also part of the foreshore, which they had occupied until the Waikato War.<sup>56</sup>

In 1871, along with his father and Pepene, Reha was granted Pokopokorua, on the Coromandel Peninsula.<sup>57</sup> Two years later, he wrote to the chief judge of the land court:

Salutations to you. This is my word to you about the day on which the Land Court will sit for the (investigation of) the land in this district, viz, Hauraki. My land will be taken into that Court when it sits. The appearance of the land, and all the boundaries are shown on the map that has been sent to you, and which you have probably seen.<sup>58</sup>

In that year, his family was granted Te Houte Nos. 1 and 2, another family sharing the second block.<sup>59</sup> He was at that time living in a 'wooden house', not a traditional whare, on his land at Kaitawa.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *The Hauraki Report* (Wellington, 2006), vol. 1, pp. 397-398.

<sup>54</sup> See David Alexander, *The Hauraki Tribal Lands* (Paeroa, 1997), vol. 8, Part 2, pp. 299-305.

<sup>55</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 2, p. 19.

<sup>56</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 2, pp. 33, 37; no. 3, pp. 141-196.

<sup>57</sup> Maori Land Court, Coromandel Minute Book no. 2, p. 80.

<sup>58</sup> Reha Aperahama to F.D. Fenton, 5 February 1873, Inwards Correspondence, Maori Land Court, Auckland, BBOP 4309, box 3d-63, 1872/1881, ANZ-W.

<sup>59</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 8, p. 265.

Two years later, along with his father, Pepene, and Hori Timo, he was granted Nihorahi, 188 acres next to the mission station at Parawai.<sup>61</sup> He also became sole owner of Waihoanga No. 1, of 102 acres, and part owner of Karioi No. 1 and Te Awakahawai.<sup>62</sup>

In 1878 he succeeded his brother Hori in Horete No. 1,<sup>63</sup> and became an owner of Te Aratiatia and Waiharakeke West, both upriver from Te Aroha,<sup>64</sup> Kareremokai, and Horete No. 3.<sup>65</sup> The following year he became part owner of Okauia,<sup>66</sup> also upriver from Te Aroha. His 1885 attempt to succeed Ngatupera, a relative of his mother's, in Okauia No. 3 failed, even though he had succeeded him in Okauia No. 4.<sup>67</sup>

In 1880, he was recorded as an owner of the Waipatukahu Reserve, 1,000 acres at Waikawau on the Coromandel Peninsula,<sup>68</sup> and of Waiomo No. 2.<sup>69</sup> He succeeded his mother in Waiwhariki<sup>70</sup> in 1881, and the following year obtained an interest in Tahanui No. 2, near Turua.<sup>71</sup>

In 1884 he was recorded as being an owner of Ohinemuri No. 20C,<sup>72</sup> of 500 acres,<sup>73</sup> and in the following year he inherited his father's interests in Karioi No. 1 and Te Horete.<sup>74</sup> Also in 1885, he became one of the owners of 135 acres of swamp known as Matakarahi along with Kaitawa No. 4, of Reparahi, and of Ohinemuri No. 13.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Thames Electoral Roll, August 1873-September 1874, Auckland Provincial Government Papers, ACFM 8183, 3015/73, ANZ-A.

<sup>61</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 8, p. 446.

<sup>62</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 8, pp. 358, 361; no. 9, pp. 156, 179, 223.

<sup>63</sup> See Alexander, vol. 8, Part 2, pp. 172-175.

<sup>64</sup> For Waiharakeke, see Alexander, vol. 8, Part 4, p. 337.

<sup>65</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 10, pp. 232, 319; no. 11, pp. 112, 289.

<sup>66</sup> Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Books, no. 4, p. 182; no. 12, p. 3.

<sup>67</sup> Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Books, no. 12, p. 8; no. 13, pp. 216, 219-220.

<sup>68</sup> See Alexander, vol. 8, Part 1, pp. 353-379.

<sup>69</sup> Ohinemuri Goldfields, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/54a, ANZ-W.

<sup>70</sup> See Alexander, vol. 8, Part 2, pp. 324-325.

<sup>71</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 13, p. 335; no. 14, p. 142.

<sup>72</sup> For Ohinemuri 20, see Alexander, vol. 8, Part 3, pp. 112-138.

<sup>73</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 16, p. 405.

<sup>74</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 17, pp. 5-6.

<sup>75</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 17, pp. 275, 300, 331; no. 19, p. 11; for Ohinemuri 13, see Alexander, vol. 8, Part 3, pp. 84-85.

In 1889, when Reha was awarded Mahakarahi along with six others, all having equal shares, his and Pepene's interests were subdivided off.<sup>76</sup> Pouarua, 28 acres jointly owned with his brother, was at the latter's request allotted to him.<sup>77</sup> The following day, Toetoeokino, of 42 acres, which had been used by Reha and 'persons of Te Patu Huarua' as a pig run, was before the court. In the argument over who should be the owners, Reha opposed the inclusion of Wirope Hoterene Taipari and Reihana Tutana because they would not pay their share of the survey costs. 'Reihana Tutana states that Reha won't admit him because he has no money – and asks that case be left open until tomorrow to enable him to obtain some money to pay his portion of survey charges'. Once this was done, and he was included, Reha arranged for his share to be given to his wife.<sup>78</sup>

Also in 1889, Reha explained a controversy over Arekirau No. 6, across the Waihou River from Kaitawa. 'We got this land in payment for a curse by Te Hapaia Erani', and he had built a house on Pirika's land. His mother and aunt had given this land to Hohepa Paraone, to encourage him to live in the district, but when he was dying and thinking of writing a will,

I then said to him restore this land to me.

All the people were angry with me for saying so – on account of his being so near death.... They were angry ... because it was against Maori custom to apply to him under such circumstances.<sup>79</sup>

Whether or not the court sympathized with Maori custom, it gave the land to Paraone's nephew.<sup>80</sup>

In 1891, Reha failed to obtain a share in Outautu No. 1.<sup>81</sup> Two years later he was granted two shares in Kairere,<sup>82</sup> his last case in the court.

Reha did not challenge rivals for every possible block of land. For instance, Te Kapara had been gifted by his father to Raika Whakarongotai because of 'a dispute about a woman', which had been settled by the gift, Reha and his brother did not dispute the gift by claiming this land as their

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<sup>76</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 20, p. 75.

<sup>77</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 20, p. 115.

<sup>78</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 20, pp. 116-119, 128.

<sup>79</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 21, pp. 242-247.

<sup>80</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 21, p. 285.

<sup>81</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 27, p. 264.

<sup>82</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 35, p. 264.

father's successors.<sup>83</sup> Neither did they challenge Taipari's claim to Okorotou, gifted by their father in 1880 'for the misdoings of a woman'.<sup>84</sup>

### THE AROHA BLOCK

In 1874, Reha went with his father and Ngati Rahiri to drove Henry Alley's cattle off Waiharakeke to prevent Ngati Haua using his grazing as an excuse to claim ownership of the Aroha Block.<sup>85</sup> In August 1877, he petitioned parliament 'that two Native Assessors of the Thames District be relieved of their duties, because they took an active part in stirring up strife about Te Aroha Block'.<sup>86</sup> He named these men, citing a report in Thames newspapers describing them preparing the rules for fighting Ngati Rahiri,<sup>87</sup> which he considered justification for their losing their government salaries.<sup>88</sup> His claim that the dispute 'almost resulted in an appeal to arms' prompted the Native Affairs Committee to suggest that the government investigate.<sup>89</sup> This despite the native agent reporting that his accusation was 'unfounded', for 'Ngati Rahiri were clearly the aggressors and behaved badly all through'.<sup>90</sup>

In November 1877, 'Aperahama', presumably Reha Aperahama, wrote to the Thames press offering to sell or lease Ngati Rahiri land. As this was still subject to Crown purchase, the *Thames Advertiser* considered that a Pakeha Maori was responsible for his letter. 'No doubt those who commissioned Aperahama know what they are about'.<sup>91</sup> The following February, he accompanied a deputation of the council to meet the Premier, Sir George Grey, and told him that Ngati Rahiri wanted a road made between Ohinemuri and Omahu. 'After some discussion', Grey agreed that

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<sup>83</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 17, pp. 102-103.

<sup>84</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 17, p. 332.

<sup>85</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 52, p. 299.

<sup>86</sup> *Journals of the House of Representatives of New Zealand*, July-December 1877, p. xi.

<sup>87</sup> See paper on Ngati Rahiri versus Ngati Tamatera.

<sup>88</sup> Petition of Reha Aperahama to Native Affairs Committee, n.d. [August 1877], Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/86, ANZ-W.

<sup>89</sup> 'Reports of Native Affairs Committee', *AJHR*, 1877, I-3, p. 15; *Thames Advertiser*, 15 September 1877, p. 3.

<sup>90</sup> E.W. Puckey to Native Department, 15 October 1877, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/86, ANZ-W.

<sup>91</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 27 November 1877, p. 2.



Maori would make the road. 'REHA further said that he had been requested by the natives of the Te Aroha to request a visit from the Native Minister. He thought the Native Minister should come there and see the wants of the district'.<sup>92</sup> On behalf of Ngati Rahiri, in May he wrote to the council requesting the provision of money to make a road to Tauranga.<sup>93</sup>

In July 1878, in his evidence to the third hearing of the Aroha Block, Reha stated that he was living at Te Aroha and claimed through his ancestor Ruinga for the southern portion and through Hue for the northern. He had attended the hearings at Matamata and Auckland and the announcement of the first judgment at Coromandel, and summarized the main thrust of the arguments.<sup>94</sup>

I have seen the Canoe called Marutuahu and have heard reports about it. It is now broken up – It was N'Maru who fetched it from Waikato. I did not hear of N'tamatera or N'Whananga going to fetch it. N'Maru also possesses a flag called Marutuahu, I as a member of N'Maru made this flag and called it Marutuahu. The people of Hauraki were not angry with me for making this flag they would have no right to be. We N'Maru hold it at the present time.<sup>95</sup>

He referred to the 'constant fights' after Taumatawiwi caused by Ngati Haua claiming to have won that battle, but did not know the details.<sup>96</sup> His evidence concluded with his challenging Mackay's claims that he had received money for this block:

If I received £10 on the 17 Decr/73 on Account of Te Aroha I shall have given a receipt for it – I received £45 on the 28th of April/74 but neither of these sums were paid on Te Aroha – Mr Mackay wanted it on Te Aroha but I would not agree. It was a long time after that I received that money Mr Mackay said it should be on Te Aroha but I would not agree.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> *Auckland Weekly News*, 2 February 1878, p. 14.

<sup>93</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 21 May 1878, p. 3.

<sup>94</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 10, pp. 389-392.

<sup>95</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 10, p. 391.

<sup>96</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 10, pp. 393-394.

<sup>97</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 10, p. 394.

In addition to these amounts, the following month he received £50.<sup>98</sup> Also in that month he received 250 acres of Ngati Rahiri's timber reserve at Te Aroha, and his family was allocated 300 acres at Wairakau and 260 at Omahu.<sup>99</sup> In May 1879 a surveyor sued him for surveying land at Te Aroha; the case was adjourned because a witness was unavailable.<sup>100</sup>

On the western bank of the river a short distance downstream from the future Te Aroha settlement, Reha owned 250 acres known as Te Kawana. In early 1879, George Thomas Wilkinson,<sup>101</sup> then a land purchase officer, after coming 'to a satisfactory arrangement' with him instructed a surveyor 'to lay off a road through it to the River and also a government Reserve for Landing purposes.<sup>102</sup> The latter, of three acres, was marked off in September.<sup>103</sup> George Stewart O'Halloran,<sup>104</sup> who leased land for a store and hotel from him, was unflattering in his recollections. After making a road and providing a punt for customers, he began to make a profit.

My Maori Landlord or one of them, a smart sort of fellow, seeing I was doing well, thought to blackmail me and applied for an increase of rent. We had some words on the subject. I would not be bounced, so he said, "All right, we will see. I leased you this piece of land certainly but you have no road to it." This certainly was an omission on my part in not stipulating for a right of road but the thing never struck me as necessary.<sup>105</sup>

Over the following two days, his fence was pulled down and re-erected so close to his buildings that he was 'securely fenced in all round with a post

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<sup>98</sup> Register of Payments to Individuals for Purchase of Land 1873-1880, Te Aroha, entries for 17 December 1873, 38 April 1874, 27 August 1878, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 7/7, ANZ-W.

<sup>99</sup> Te Aroha Block, Special File No. 2, Schedules 2, 4, 24 August 1878, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/86, ANZ-W.

<sup>100</sup> Magistrate's Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 17 May 1879, p. 3.

<sup>101</sup> See paper on Merea Wikiriwhi and George Thomas Wilkinson.

<sup>102</sup> G.T. Wilkinson to Under-Secretary, Land Purchase Office, 12 April 1879, Maori Affairs Department, MA 13/86, ANZ-W.

<sup>103</sup> Field Book 343, issued to F.H. Edgecumbe on 9 September 1879, p. 63, Land Information New Zealand, Hamilton.

<sup>104</sup> See paper on his life.

<sup>105</sup> George Stewart O'Halloran, untitled reminiscences (1894), p. 114, MS 1345-2, Alexander Turnbull Library [punctuation added].

and rail fence'. He 'bounced and stormed to no purpose and eventually had to consider myself beaten, pay £10 blackmail for my right of way and the fence was pulled down'.<sup>106</sup>

When the Native Minister, in March 1882, asked Maori not to obstruct the clearing of snags in the Waihou River, Reha 'said certain logs had been kept there as lodgment for eels, and he asked that these should continue where they were'.<sup>107</sup> The following year, with Pepene he succeeded his mother in Aroha Block XII Section 43 and Block IX Section 7.<sup>108</sup> Although there was disagreement over the whakapapa used in his application to succeed his great-uncle Hemi Kare in Wairakau in 1886, he proved his case. Te Meke Ngakuru<sup>109</sup> told the court that Reha and Pepene had the 'management of deceased's property after his death'.<sup>110</sup> Three years later Reha succeeded another owner in this block and the Aroha Block IX Section 27.<sup>111</sup> In November 1891, he sought to have Aroha Block IX Sections 24, 25, 27 taken out of the goldfield so that he could cultivate them.<sup>112</sup> In 1892, he was one of those who petitioned for a rehearing of their land at Te Aroha East; the Native Affairs Committee referred the matter for the government to investigate.<sup>113</sup> It did not.

#### RECEIVING INCOME FROM THE AROHA BLOCK

In October 1879, Reha and Pepene wrote to Adam Porter,<sup>114</sup> a member of the council, to encourage the establishment of a township on the former's land at Te Kawana:

We, the undersigned (natives) take advantage of your presence amongst us to request that you will in your place in the Thames

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<sup>106</sup> O'Halloran, pp. 114-115 [punctuation added].

<sup>107</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 21 March 1882, p. 3.

<sup>108</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 14, p. 358.

<sup>109</sup> See papers on Maori Te Aroha and Maori in Te Aroha after 1880.

<sup>110</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 19, pp. 43-49.

<sup>111</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 20, p. 15; no. 21, pp. 20-21.

<sup>112</sup> Warden to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 26 November 1891, Register of Inwards Correspondence, 91/984, Maori Affairs Department, MA 2/4, ANZ-W [file missing].

<sup>113</sup> 'Native Affairs Committee (Reports Of)', *AJHR*, 1892, I-3, p. 6.

<sup>114</sup> See paper on his life.

County Council remove the erroneous opinion which seems to exist that we are obstructing settlement. We are not like the dog in the manger, but are willing and anxious to assist in every way the settlement of Europeans in our midst. We are the owners of a reserve known as Te Kawana, of some 250 acres, which we are told is the most suitable place for a township on the banks of the Waihou River, and we wish it generally known that we are prepared to enter into reasonable arrangements with the government for sale or lease of said township lands. We have already given the government a reserve of three acres for landing purposes, which, if not considered in the right place, can be re-selected in any part of the block. We are also willing to grant (failing the purchase of the block by the Government) any reasonable quantity of land that may be required for roads, bridges, &c. More than this we do not think it necessary to say, nor should we have said this much had we not had reason to believe that we and our intentions have been misrepresented.<sup>115</sup>

The council simply received this letter after being informed by Wilkinson that ‘the land was only owned by one of the writers, and that the Governor’s consent would have to be obtained before the land could be sold’.<sup>116</sup>

At the end of October, on his behalf Gerald Richard Disney O’Halloran, who was actively involved in the purchase of Maori land,<sup>117</sup> sought title for Te Kawana, as promised by Native Minister John Sheehan ‘in consideration of his services in furthering a settlement of the purchase of the Te Aroha block’. As small portions were occupied by Pakeha as business or residence sites, he wanted title so that he did not lose any money: it was to be his own property, not inalienable land belonging to the tribe.<sup>118</sup> Asked for his opinion, the native agent wrote that ‘the particular services rendered were only such as might be rendered by the arch obstructionist Reha. I think it

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<sup>115</sup> Our Correspondent, ‘Ohinemuri Goldfield. Te Aroha’, *Thames Advertiser*, 15 October 1879, p. 3.

<sup>116</sup> Thames County Council, *Thames Advertiser*, 7 November 1879, p. 3.

<sup>117</sup> For example, *Thames Advertiser*, 27 January 1873, p. 3, 11 February 1873, p. 3, 13 June 1874, p. 2, 28 June 1875, p. 3, editorial, 13 October 1875, p. 2, 15 October 1875, p. 3; *AJHR*, 1875, I-1, pp. iii, 24, 33-27; *AJHR*, 1883, G-6, pp. 4-5.

<sup>118</sup> Gerald O’Halloran, for Reha Aperahama, to John Bryce (Minister of Native Affairs), 29 October 1879, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/86, ANZ-W.

was a mistake granting the Reserve at all', adding that Mackay had made it inalienable.<sup>119</sup> He saw no reason to speed up the issue of a Crown Grant.

He can suffer no inconvenience whatever through the delay as it has been laid off and he is in possession and when Grant does issue it will contain restrictions so that the land will be inalienable by sale, mortgage, lease or otherwise, without the consent of the Governor. I think the main object of the writer was to effect some dealing with the land.<sup>120</sup>

As that attempt failed, in the following February Reha asked the Attorney General for approval to sell 244 acres for £1,200; he would retain six acres. 'This land is the best portion of Te Aroha for a Township, it is close to the river Waihou it is also very good for a Railway station, and a crossing place for the Bridge'.<sup>121</sup> After waiting over a month for a response, he wrote to John Bryce, the Native Minister, asking for restrictions to be removed.<sup>122</sup> Two days later he sent a telegram to Bryce stating that he had land at Waiotahi, Wairakau, Kaimai, Waihoanga, Kaitawa, and Kareremokai.<sup>123</sup> Wilkinson, now the native agent, advised that, 'Notwithstanding his knowing that it was illegal to dispose of the land until the restrictions were removed, he sold the same to certain Europeans and signed a deed of transfer'. He confirmed that Reha did have land elsewhere.<sup>124</sup> The excuse used to reject the proposal was that the land was not needed.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> Memorandum by E.W. Puckey (Native Agent), n.d. [November 1879], Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/86, ANZ-W.

<sup>120</sup> E.W. Puckey to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 4 December 1879, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/86, ANZ-W.

<sup>121</sup> Reha Aperahama to Frederick Whitaker (Attorney General), 23 February 1880, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/86, ANZ-W.

<sup>122</sup> Reha Aperahama to John Bryce, 6 April 1880, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/86, ANZ-W.

<sup>123</sup> Reha Aperahama to John Bryce, 8 April 1880 (telegram), Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/86, ANZ-W.

<sup>124</sup> Memorandum by G.T. Wilkinson, 26 April 1880, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/86, ANZ-W.

<sup>125</sup> Frederick Whitaker to Reha Aperahama, 3 May 1880, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/86, ANZ-W.

On 1 July, two Thames investors, Philip James Perry<sup>126</sup> and Thomas Spencer,<sup>127</sup> informed Bryce that they had bought the block for £1,200. Reha, when offering it to them, had said that he alone had been given this land for aiding Mackay to acquire land. The deed of conveyance was executed on 1 April, but they kept back £300 pending the issue of a Crown Grant. A few days previously his wife had died, and he wanted the £300 to pay for her tangi. They asked for details of other land he held and for restrictions to be removed, for they were already fencing and improving it.<sup>128</sup> On 8 July, Reha again asked Bryce to allow him to sell Te Kawana.<sup>129</sup> The following day, the under-secretary of the Land Purchase Department, Richard John Gill, discouraged Bryce from agreeing:

When the Aroha block passed the Court it was well known that these Reserves were intended to be made inalienable. It is strange that two business men like Mr Perry and Mr Spencer should part with £900 without first seeing that the Native selling the land held no Title – I think it would be a mistake to allow the land to be sold.<sup>130</sup>

Four days later, Reha sent another telegram to Bryce asking him to permit the sale, ‘as I urgently want balance of money to pay expenses of tangi’.<sup>131</sup> After Bryce refused to permit the land to be alienated,<sup>132</sup> Reha sent him another telegram, on 2 August:

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<sup>126</sup> In 1880 and 1881 his occupation was given as ‘gentleman’: *Thames Electoral Roll, 1880*, p. 17; advertisement, *Thames Star*, 30 December 1881, p. 3; he was later a partner in a totalisator before settling in Hokitika: Supreme Court, *Auckland Star*, 17 April 1888, p. 8; advertisement, *West Coast Times*, 16 April 1901, p. 3.

<sup>127</sup> For his life in Thames in the 1870s, see *Thames Advertiser*, 23 November 1870, p. 3, 29 July 1873, p. 3, 12 December 1876, p. 3, 26 September 1877, p. 2, 3 June 1878, p. 3, 13 January 1879, p. 3, 29 July 1879, p. 2.

<sup>128</sup> P.J. Perry and Thomas Spencer to John Bryce, 1 July 1880, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/86, ANZ-W.

<sup>129</sup> Reha Aperahama to John Bryce, 8 July 1880 (telegram), Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/86, ANZ-W.

<sup>130</sup> Memorandum by R.J. Gill (Under-Secretary, Land Purchase Department), 9 July 1880, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/86, ANZ-W.

<sup>131</sup> Reha Aperahama to John Bryce, 12 July 1880 (telegram), Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/86, ANZ-W.

Last Friday four orders were made against self and brother in R M Court all debt to be paid in fourteen days in default one months imprisonment. You can save us from this disgrace by sanctioning at once our sale to Mr Spencer of my land known as Te Kawana.<sup>133</sup>

His plea was once more ignored. Two months later Perry and Spencer asked Bryce whether they could acquire Te Kawana or whether the government wanted it.

Under any circumstances it would be very undesirable to allow the native to resume possession. The reserve is an isolated piece of land ... and will soon be entirely surrounded by European settlers who dislike and never agree with Maori neighbours. At present this reserve is used as a landing place for settlers as far as Piako, an Hotel has been erected on it and contiguous to the landing stores & let for a term of years.

The police considered the land was a good site for an urgently needed police station, and Ngati Rahiri had good reserves on the western bank of the river 'where they can be of little annoyance to the settlers'.<sup>134</sup> Three days later, Reha asked Bryce if he could sell the land. 'It is very poor soil, quite unfit for cultivation, and I wish therefore to sell it to a European at a high price in order to procure funds to pay the people employed upon our other lands'. Otherwise he would lose money.<sup>135</sup> Bryce considered that he had not given a reason why the matter should be reconsidered.<sup>136</sup> The under-secretary of the Native Department considered there was 'no special reason for reconsidering the decision, and was opposed to removing the

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<sup>132</sup> John Bryce to P.J. Perry and Thomas Spencer, 12 July 1880; T.W. Lewis (Under-Secretary, Native Department), to P.J. Perry and Thomas Spencer, 16 July 1880, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/86, ANZ-W.

<sup>133</sup> Reha Aperahama to John Bryce, 2 August 1880 (telegram), Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/86, ANZ-W.

<sup>134</sup> P.J. Perry and Thomas Spencer to John Bryce, 12 October 1880, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/86, ANZ-W.

<sup>135</sup> Reha Aperahama to John Bryce, 15 October 1880, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/86, ANZ-W.

<sup>136</sup> Memorandum by John Bryce, 30 October 1880, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/86, ANZ-W.

restrictions without ‘good cause’ because it would set a precedent for removing them from other reserves.<sup>137</sup> He ‘recommended that writer be informed that the Government desire that the natives should not denude themselves of their land’; Bryce agreed.<sup>138</sup>

In early December Wilkinson provided details of his family’s holdings on the eastern side of the river; Reha had a seventh interest in 260 acres at Omahu and in 300 acres at Wairakau.<sup>139</sup> Gill’s view was that Te Kawana was ‘valuable’ and ‘perhaps the best of all the Reserves’.<sup>140</sup> The following year, Perry and Spencer did lease Te Kawana, for £20 per annum.<sup>141</sup> At that time Spencer was genuinely anxious to settle on this land and to develop it.<sup>142</sup> In January 1885, Reha again sought approval to sell. ‘I have got plenty of land outside of this block for cultivations and homestead’, and he wanted to be ‘able to sell it to whom I please’.<sup>143</sup> As there was no response, he tried again in June, arguing that Te Kawana was ‘at a distance from where I am living, and I cannot cultivate there, I have much other land that I can cultivate’.<sup>144</sup> The under-secretary advised his minister, now John Ballance, that the Native Land Disposition Bill, before parliament in late June, would enable the restrictions to be removed.<sup>145</sup> In February 1886 Reha signed the following declaration:

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<sup>137</sup> T.W. Lewis to John Bryce, 3 November 1880, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/86, ANZ-W.

<sup>138</sup> Memoranda of T.W. Lewis and John Bryce, 13 November 1880, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/86, ANZ-W.

<sup>139</sup> G.T. Wilkinson to Patrick Sheridan, 6 December 1880 (telegram), Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/86, ANZ-W.

<sup>140</sup> R.J. Gill to John Bryce, 16 December 1880, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/86, ANZ-W.

<sup>141</sup> Hesketh and Richmond to T.W. Lewis, 23 December 1881, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/86, ANZ-W; Magistrate’s Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 30 July 1881, p. 3.

<sup>142</sup> See *Thames Advertiser*, 10 January 1879, p. 2, 13 January 1879, p. 3, 7 February 1879, p. 2, 31 March 1879, p. 2, 23 February 1880, p. 3, 30 November 1880, p. 3, 2 December 1880, p. 3; *Thames Star*, 16 June 1880, p. 3.

<sup>143</sup> Reha Aperahama to John Ballance, n.d. [end of January 1885], Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/86, ANZ-W.

<sup>144</sup> Reha Aperahama to John Ballance, n.d. [mid-June 1885], Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/86, ANZ-W.

<sup>145</sup> T.W. Lewis to John Ballance, 23 June 1885, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/86, ANZ-W.



I have received from Mr Thomas Spencer the amount agreed as the purchase money for my land the Kawana Block, 250 acres situate at Te Aroha –

The money was paid as follows:-

|   |      |
|---|------|
| By one Steamer and one large boat (20 tons)                               | £600 |
| - Amount paid to me when I signed in 1880                                 | 300  |
| - debts I owed to Mr Spencer and other debts paid by Mr Spencer on my a/c | 255  |

Balance    45  
                  £1200

On that day he received the remaining £45. He later declared that he still owned 20 acres at Okauia and 30 at Maorihoro.<sup>146</sup> In 1889, Reha asked Wilkinson for details of the subdivisions of the Aroha block so that he could ‘ascertain the particulars of the partition between Tutuki and others and Maraea’,<sup>147</sup> because he did not know how much the latter, his wife Maraea Mere Peka, had been awarded.

In 1892, Reha and Pepene asked the land court to remove restrictions on the sale of Aroha Block V Section 27B to enable a Pakeha to purchase Section 27A. The judge, who recommended that they appeal to the Governor, was told that he had been ‘misled’ by their evidence.<sup>148</sup> Also in that year, restrictions on Aroha Block XII Section 43, owned by both brothers and other family members, were removed at Reha’s request.<sup>149</sup> Two years later, they mortgaged it to a Thames lawyer for £200, obtaining approval by listing the land they still owned, notably 110 acres in Aroha Block IX Section 24.<sup>150</sup>

Reha and his sister-in-law requested, in February 1896, permission to sell Aroha Block XII Section 39, 150 acres known as Ramahana. They

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<sup>146</sup> Declarations of Reha Aperahama, 9 February 1886, 1 December 1886, Maori Affairs Department, Auckland, BABG A52, 86/146, box 15, ANZ-A.

<sup>147</sup> Reha Aperahama to G.T. Wilkinson, 18 February 1889, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/86, ANZ-W.

<sup>148</sup> H.F. Edgar to Judge von Sturmer, 8 December 1892, and memorandum, Maori Land Court, Memoranda Book 1879-1892, p. 358, Maori Affairs Department, Hamilton, BAIE 4307/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>149</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 28A, p. 22.

<sup>150</sup> Thames Warden’s Court, Inwards Correspondence 1879-1896, 94/74, 18 January 1894, BACL 13388/1a, ANZ-A.

owned 'a great quantity of land and we are unable to use so much'. The block was 'in the centre of pieces of land which the Europeans have acquired, and we know that we will be able to get a large sum per acre'.<sup>151</sup> It had been leased for 21 years, commencing in 1881, but as only two of the eight owners signed the application, it was declined.<sup>152</sup> In May, they wrote directly to Richard John Seddon, then Minister of Native Affairs as well as Premier, claiming that 'this land by reason of its position is the cause of much trouble to us two', and giving details of their other landholdings.<sup>153</sup> After two more owners agreed to the sale, the under-secretary suggested referring the matter to the land court.<sup>154</sup> In 1897, Reha wanted to lease Aroha Block IX Section 25, but other owners opposed this.<sup>155</sup>

A month before he died, Reha claimed that the land taken from Aroha Block V for the railway to Paeroa was 'the best of the Aroha land', although the valuers considered it was poor. He claimed to have declined a Pakeha farmer's offer to rent it for 5s or 6s. 'In 1880 I sold land on the opposite side of the river for £7 an acre, this was when there were no Europeans about. I did not cultivate the land because I was keeping it as a run for our stock'. He and Pepene had 'constantly refused to sell at the price offered'.<sup>156</sup> For the portion crossing Block IX Section 25, of 30 acres, he received only £2 0d 3d in compensation.<sup>157</sup>

Reha received a modest income from his share of the Te Aroha goldfield, too modest for his expenses; he complained in October 1885 that he received no revenue.<sup>158</sup> In fact, in that August he had received the largest amount recorded, £39 3s 11d.<sup>159</sup> Only £4 2s 10d had been received in

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<sup>151</sup> Reha Aperahama and Mata Paekau to Under-Secretary, Justice Department, 13 February 1896, Maori Land Blocks, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 29/174, ANZ-W.

<sup>152</sup> Memorandum of Under-Secretary, Justice Department, 20 February 1896, Maori Land Blocks, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 29/174, ANZ-W.

<sup>153</sup> Reha Aperahama and Mata Paekau to R.J. Seddon, 8 May 1896, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 29/174, ANZ-W.

<sup>154</sup> Memorandum of Under-Secretary, Native Affairs, 21 September 1896, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 29/174, ANZ-W.

<sup>155</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 56, p. 127.

<sup>156</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 44, pp. 232, 234.

<sup>157</sup> Aroha Block IX Section 25, Block Files, H1084, Maori Land Court, Hamilton.

<sup>158</sup> Magistrate's Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 17 October 1885, p. 3.

<sup>159</sup> Waihi Warden's Court, Te Aroha Native Imprest Account Cash Book, pp. 55, 57, BAFV 13716/1a, ANZ-A.

the previous year, and the next time he received money from this source was in 1891, £3 12s, and 1892, £21 14s.<sup>160</sup>

### INCOME FROM OTHER LAND

In 1869, Aperahama Te Reiroa and his sons leased Kauaeranga Nos. 14 and 16 to two rival Pakeha simultaneously, Te Reiroa being seduced by the offer of £300 from the second man to grant him a lease.<sup>161</sup> In June, Reha sold his one-ninth interest in Nos. 14 and 20 for £120 and £50 respectively.<sup>162</sup> In 1874 he was paid £5 for his interest in Te Horete No. 1, of 1,240 acres, and another £5 for his interest in Waihou and Waitoa East, about 20,000 acres.<sup>163</sup> In December 1875, he sold Waihoanga No. 1, of 102 acres, for £100.<sup>164</sup> In 1878 he was paid £20 for his interest in Waiharakeke East, of 8,160 acres, the same amount for Waiharakeke West, of 1,487 acres, and £2 for his third of Horete No. 4, of 33 acres.<sup>165</sup> He received several payments from the government for his interests in the Ohinemuri Block. In 1878 he was paid £5 for some of his interest in the whole block, in 1880 £14 15s for Ohinemuri No. 18, and in 1894 £1 11s 5d for Ohinemuri 20B.<sup>166</sup>

In 1880 he sought compensation from the Thames County Council for a water race and reservoir constructed on his land at Waiokaraka. As it was not liable, his letter was referred to the government;<sup>167</sup> it is not known whether he was successful. Later in the year the government bought Waiotahi A, the upper part of the block running from Waiokaraka towards Moanataiari Creek and then to Pretty Jane Spur, from Aperahama Te

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<sup>160</sup> Waihi Warden's Court, Te Aroha Native Imprest Account Cash Book, pp. 25, 33, 181, 183, 213, 219, BAFV 13716/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>161</sup> Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 3, pp. 141-196.

<sup>162</sup> Agreements of 21 June 1869, Hesketh and Richmond Papers, box 141, MS 440, Auckland Public Library.

<sup>163</sup> Register of Payments to Individuals for Purchase of Land 1873-1880, pp. 18, 143, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 7/7, ANZ-W.

<sup>164</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 9, p. 223.

<sup>165</sup> Register of Payments to Individuals for Purchase of Land, 1873-1880, pp. 43, 66, 74, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 7/7, ANZ-W.

<sup>166</sup> 'Statement of the Facts and Circumstances Affecting the Ohinemuri Block', Appendices H, I, Lands and Survey Department, LS 36/25a, ANZ-W.

<sup>167</sup> County Council, *Thames Advertiser*, 5 February 1880, p. 3.

Reiroa and his two sons for £750.<sup>168</sup> The following December, Reha accompanied a Pakeha to Wilkinson's house to give him two promissory notes of '£50 each, and documents relative to agreement to purchase and sell a block of land called Pauarua for £1 per acre – 20 acres of such block to be at £2 per acre'.<sup>169</sup> Reha, his father, and Pepene received £19 5s in compensation for land taken for the Shortland to Kopu railway and for a station at Kaitawa.<sup>170</sup>

In 1886, with seven others he sold Waiwhariki, 33 acres at Thames, for £340, and with his brother sold Reperahi, 41 acres at Puriri, for £26.<sup>171</sup> The former sale was an illustration of how selling land brought in more money much more quickly than receiving rents and goldfield revenue, his income from the Waiwhariki Block having provided only £1 5s 10d for the last six months of 1880.<sup>172</sup> With his brother, he sold Makakarahi, of 38 acres, to a Thames merchant in 1894. To make this sale legal, he needed the restrictions on its sale removed; he assured the court that he had 'ample' land elsewhere.<sup>173</sup>

From his earliest land dealings, Reha was aware of the financial benefits of owning (and subsequently selling) land. At a meeting in Thames with Sir George Grey in 1875, Hoani Nahe<sup>174</sup> spoke against land purchase agents using 'reihana', meaning orders for Maori to obtain goods from shopkeepers.<sup>175</sup>

Reha Aperahama (a young man of diminutive stature but loud voice) said: I agree with part of what Hoani Nahe said with regard to the Government purchases of land by "reihana," and again when they make payments on land which have not been surveyed. After having done so they threaten to summon us for advances made, and so our lands have to go. If I go to a store and order a pair of trousers the storekeeper asks me when I shall pay

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<sup>168</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 8, p. 279; G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 21 June 1881, University of Waikato Library; *Thames Advertiser*, 9 September 1880, p. 2.

<sup>169</sup> G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 16 December 1881, University of Waikato Library.

<sup>170</sup> G.T. Wilkinson, diary, 1881, appendix, University of Waikato Library.

<sup>171</sup> Waiwhariki Block, Maori Affairs Department, Hamilton, BCAS A806, box 3, nos. 107, 156, ANZ-A.

<sup>172</sup> G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 14 January 1881, University of Waikato Library.

<sup>173</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 36, p. 41.

<sup>174</sup> See paper on the Aroha Block to 1879.

<sup>175</sup> See paper on Maori land in Hauraki.

for them; and I tell him on the 1st of the month when the Government pays the miner's right. This I am not able to do through delay on the part of the Government, and the storekeeper curses me in consequence.<sup>176</sup>

Nearly two years later, he met Hoani Nahe and William Rowe, both members of parliament, about the Native Lands Bill, but admitted not having had time to consider it yet and promised to send his views later. He complained that Maori landowners were not receiving income from miners' rights and rents from business sites and other property 'for two or three quarters after it was due. They were to have access to the books to see they got their rights, but were refused, and their inspectors were refused permission to go down the mines and inspect the pay-sheet of the miners to see that all working men were in possession of rights'.<sup>177</sup>

### OWNER OF A RIVER STEAMER

In 1880, Reha owned the river steamer 'Memsahib', an unprofitable venture. In December James Garrett<sup>178</sup> successfully sued him for wages from 3 April to 23 September amounting to £37 10s.<sup>179</sup> The following March, Richard Onyon<sup>180</sup> and George Spencer<sup>181</sup> were sued for £8, rent of this boat, by its new owner, a miner who became a publican, James Verrall.<sup>182</sup> Onyon

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<sup>176</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 6 December 1875, p. 3.

<sup>177</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 10 July 1877, p. 3.

<sup>178</sup> Garrett was to participate in the Te Aroha rush and to invest in one claim: Te Aroha Warden's Court, Miner's Right no. 474, issued 25 November 1880, Butt Book of Miners' Rights 1880, BBAV 11533/1c; Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folio 173, BBAV 11567/1a, ANZ-A. He may have been the same person as James Alexander Garrett, a Thames engineer: see Death Certificates of Herbert Garrett, 8 August 1889, 1889/3348; James Alexander Garrett, 29 April 1916, 1916/7149, BDM; Probate, BBAE 1569/11198, ANZ-A.

<sup>179</sup> Magistrate's Court, *Thames Star*, 24 December 1880, p. 2.

<sup>180</sup> See District Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 7 July 1875, p. 3; Police Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 31 May 1884, pp. 2-3; *New Zealand Herald*, 12 February 1889, p. 5.

<sup>181</sup> See *Thames Advertiser*, 3 September 1881, p. 2; *Auckland Weekly News*, 5 February 1887, p. 1.

<sup>182</sup> See *Thames Advertiser*, 15 March 1875, p. 3, advertisement, 11 September 1885, p. 2; *Thames Electoral Roll, 1880*, p. 21.

deposed that he had made an agreement to lease it for that amount each month for three months, commencing 1 January. 'He was not in possession of the written agreement. He did away with it after he broke the contract with Reha Aperahama'. He had 'paid Reha £10 in advance, which he afterwards returned. Reha did not bring the boat to Shortland until the middle of January', when bailiffs seized it. 'The charter was broken because witness had not been able to get possession of her'. When he found it was held by the bailiffs, he paid for the repair of the machinery 'and seized it for the money he had advanced to Reha'.

Reha Aperahama deposed that at one time he was the owner of the s.s. Memsahib. Up to the end of last year Geo. Spencer chartered her. Onyon was to get her next. He had only heard subsequently that Spencer was to be a partner with Onyon. Onyon leased her for three months at £8 per month. Onyon advanced him £10. That sum had never been returned. He subsequently sold the steamer to Mr Verrall, the plaintiff. The document produced was the sale note. The steamer now belonged to the plaintiff. He believed Verrall knew that he had leased her to Onyon.... The money he had received was to pay off his debts. He thought £86 a fair price for the vessel. He remembered asking Onyon £240 for the vessel. Verrall did not agree to give back the steamer on refund of the money he had advanced.... He believed the engines were on board when he sold the vessel to Verrall. Verrall gave the £86 as payment for the steamer. The £10 was to be repaid from some freight due to witness when he ran the steamer. The document produced was from Onyon, and was to the effect that when witness paid his debts he (Onyon) would return the steamer. He could not remember whether he gave Verrall any accounts [the witness was then examined on matters of detail].

Verrall gave evidence of the bailiffs taking over the vessel without his prior knowledge. 'He paid the warrants out. Subsequently he saw Reha, and Reha said that as he had paid the debt, he would sell him the steamer for what he had paid on her. From that day witness claimed her'.<sup>183</sup>

## MINING

Reha's involvement in mining was minimal. In 1868 'Reha' was one of five owners, mostly Maori, of a Thames claim.<sup>184</sup> On the opening day of the

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<sup>183</sup> Magistrate's Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 26 March 1881, p. 3.

<sup>184</sup> Thames Warden's Court, Claims Register 1868-1869, no. 466, BACL 14397/2a, ANZ-A.

Te Aroha field, he obtained a miner's right, and almost a month later was one of the owners of a claim near Tui Creek.<sup>185</sup> Five months later he was one of 12 Maori who marked out another claim in the same area.<sup>186</sup>

## FINANCES

As indicated in passing when dealing with other aspects of his life, Reha was in serious financial difficulty on several occasions. The first time he was sued was in 1876, when a Thames storekeeper successfully sued for £14 9s.<sup>187</sup> Then, along with Hoterene Taipari and Hohepa Paraone, he was sued for £100 by a legal firm for 'professional services'.<sup>188</sup>

The younger of them, Aperahama, wished to examine the items. It was explained to him and the others that the items were made up of proceedings of about 50 cases in which plaintiffs had acted for defendants. Defendant said he had been supplied with the particulars in English, but did not understand them. The defendant then admitted owing the money, except one item of £3 3s, a difference between two accounts furnished.- The plaintiff consented to strike out this amount, and judgment was given for £97 11s, and costs, £7 14s.<sup>189</sup>

In 1877, a draper, William Wilson,<sup>190</sup> sued him for £5 4s and a publican sued for a promissary note for £14; he was ordered to pay both amounts.<sup>191</sup> With Karauna Hou<sup>192</sup> and Winiata,<sup>193</sup> of Te Aroha, an Ohinemuri settler sued him for wrongfully taking and damaging his

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<sup>185</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Miner's Right no. 377, issued 25 November 1880, Miners' Rights Butt Book 1880, BBAV 11533/1a; Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folio 204, BBAV 11567/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>186</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Notices of Marking Out Claims 1881, no. 227, BBAV 11557/1b, ANZ-A.

<sup>187</sup> Thames Magistrate's Court, Complaint Book 1875-1880, 456/1876, BACL 13737/15b, ANZ-A.

<sup>188</sup> Thames Magistrate's Court, Complaint Book 1870-1884, 21/1876, BACL 13818/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>189</sup> District Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 14 December 1876, p. 3.

<sup>190</sup> For his life at Thames, see *Thames Advertiser*, 1 August 1870, p. 3, 15 September 1873, p. 3, 20 October 1874, p. 2, 25 March 1878, p. 3, 26 March 1878, p. 3, 3 October 1881, p. 3.

<sup>191</sup> Thames Magistrate's Court, Complaint Book 1875-1880, 24, 542/1877, BACL 13737/15b, ANZ-A.

<sup>192</sup> See paper on his life.

<sup>193</sup> Not involved in Te Aroha mining.

property, but was non-suited.<sup>194</sup> In 1878 a firm of brewers sued over a promissory note for £24 7s 6d; Reha ‘admitted the account, and promised to pay after the Lands Court had risen’.<sup>195</sup> When he still did not pay, the firm took out a judgment summons for £25 4s 6d, which was settled out of court.<sup>196</sup> The only claim against him in 1879 was a surveyor’s demand for £12 10s, which was struck out.<sup>197</sup>

In 1880, in addition to James Garrett’s wages claim, already noted, the same firm of brewers successfully sued for £11 12s 6d for ‘goods’. As well, George Stewart O’Halloran applied for a distress warrant to obtain £15 18s but accepted his offer for £7 15s, a Karangahake shopkeeper successfully sued for £11 12s 6d, and Wilson successfully took out a judgment summons for £1 4s.<sup>198</sup> Fear of imprisonment prompted him to beg the government to permit him to sell the Te Kawana Block, as noted.<sup>199</sup>

The following year was particularly fraught financially. In January, a Thames clothier sought £14 8s for a dishonoured order, but the suit was struck out as it had already been paid.<sup>200</sup> That same month Onyon sued him for £37 4s, ‘goods’, but as he did not appear in court this case was also struck out; presumably it concerned the ‘Memsahib’.<sup>201</sup> In April a Paeroa shopkeeper sued for £2 10s; this case was adjourned, struck out, and then revived and Reha ordered to pay.<sup>202</sup> A claim for £6 10s for a dishonoured

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<sup>194</sup> Thames Magistrate’s Court, Plaintiff Book 1870-1884, 9/1877, BACL 13818/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>195</sup> Thames Magistrate’s Court, Plaintiff Book 1875-1880, 269/1878, BACL 13737/15b ANZ-A.

<sup>196</sup> Thames Magistrate’s Court, Plaintiff Book 1875-1880, 290/1878, BACL 13737/15b, ANZ-A.

<sup>197</sup> Thames Magistrate’s Court, Plaintiff Book 1875-1880, 211/1879, BACL 13737/15b, ANZ-A.

<sup>198</sup> Thames Magistrate’s Court, Plaintiff Book 1880-1881, 298, 327, 404, 405, 439/1880, BACL 13737/11b, ANZ-A; Magistrate’s Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 16 October 1880, p. 3, 18 December 1880, p. 3, 25 December 1880, p. 3.

<sup>199</sup> Reha Aperahama to John Bryce, 2 August 1880 (telegram), Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/86, ANZ-A.

<sup>200</sup> Thames Magistrate’s Court, Plaintiff Book 1880-1881, 15/1881, BACL 13737/11b, ANZ-A; Magistrate’s Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 29 January 1881, p. 3; *Thames Electoral Roll, 1880*, p. 9.

<sup>201</sup> Thames Magistrate’s Court, Plaintiff Book 1880-1881, 20/1881, BACL 13737/11b, ANZ-A.

<sup>202</sup> Thames Magistrate’s Court, Civil Record Book 1881-1883, 47, 164/1881, BACL 13735/1b, ANZ-A.



order was also adjourned for a later hearing that was informed that all but £1 had been paid.<sup>203</sup> In May £35 was to be paid to another plaintiff.<sup>204</sup>

A claim was made in June by Hugh McIlhone, the former inspector of miner's rights,<sup>205</sup> for £4 10s owing on an IOU.<sup>206</sup> Reha 'did not recollect ever having signed' an IOU to McIlhone:

He did not now owe that gentleman any money. A long time before 1880 he paid off McIlhone's debt. He did not recollect being in the habit of borrowing money from plaintiff. The money he owed was for grog. He recollected seeing McIlhone at Te Aroha. He understood the purport of the document produced. He thought he must have been drunk when he signed the document twice. He did not know where he was when he signed either time. He did not know that he signed the first time in O'Halloran's store at Te Aroha.

Although he did remember signing some papers at McIlhone's lawyer's office, he 'was "half-tight" at the time', and did not recall saying that he would pay the money out of the first sum to be received from Robert Comer, a mine manager.<sup>207</sup> 'He knew the figures on the document. He admitted he might have got the money from plaintiff whilst he was in a state of intoxication'. McIlhone then gave evidence that the amount was for 'cash lent', and that when Reha signed in O'Halloran's store he 'knew perfectly well the nature of the document'. He had got Reha to sign the document again in his solicitor's office 'to compare it with the signature appended at Te Aroha. It was not true that defendant was intoxicated at the time'. £1 had been lent at Te Aroha, and other amounts at Ohinemuri and Thames. McIlhone admitted he 'had no entries to the effect, as he had no books. Some of the money had been owing for four or five years'. The entries had been kept 'on a slip of paper, which was destroyed when the IOU was signed'. Reha had been told that he already owed £3 10s when he was lent the £1, and a 'good many people' had been in the store when Reha signed

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<sup>203</sup> Thames Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1881-1883, 128/1881, BACL 13735/1b, ANZ-A.

<sup>204</sup> Magistrate's Court, Te Aroha, *Thames Star*, 6 May 1881, p. 2.

<sup>205</sup> See paper on Maori and goldfields revenue.

<sup>206</sup> Thames Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1881-1883, 183/1881, BACL 13735/1b, ANZ-A.

<sup>207</sup> See *Thames Electoral Roll*, 1880, p. 5; *Thames Advertiser*, 29 November 1898, p. 4.

the document. The magistrate adjourned the case for the evidence of the interpreter present when Reha signed in the lawyer's office.<sup>208</sup>

At the adjourned hearing, on 1 July, this interpreter stated that he saw Reha sign a paper McIlhone placed before him. 'He did not hear the nature of the document explained to Reha. Reha seemed to be in a bustle. He took up the pen and signed his name'. He was not intoxicated but 'was excited'. Reha had always told him of 'his intention not to pay the amount claimed' but then had told others that he would pay it. The interpreter had not been asked to interpret, did not know what paper Reha had signed, and said that nothing was explained to Reha in Maori.

His Worship, in giving judgment, said the case was one of those unpleasant matters he was sometimes called upon to decide. The document was written in English, and was not interpreted, and it was asserted that the signature was appended when the defendant was in a state of intoxication. On the other hand plaintiff deposed that defendant perfectly understood the nature of the document, and was quite sober when he signed it; also, that he had afterwards admitted his liability. His Worship held plaintiff had failed to prove the case, and non-suited him with costs.<sup>209</sup>

The plaintiff then sought 10s 6d under a distress warrant.<sup>210</sup> Also in July, when ordered to meet the application of a publican, W. Goldwater,<sup>211</sup> for £8 16s 9d for board and lodging, Reha admitted owing the money. Comer 'had purchased some land from him, and he had asked him to pay his debts. He had paid £8 15s on account, but had not paid the balance'.<sup>212</sup> At the hearing of a judgment summons to enforce payment of £8 9s 6d 'for goods supplied', Reha stated that since the first judgment he had received £280 from Comer, and 'a share of £50' from a lawyer; 'he could not say how much of that he received'. From the first sum he paid Goldwater some money, and another creditor £4. 'He could not remember the names of the others to whom he had paid money'. He denied giving a promissory note to another

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<sup>208</sup> Magistrate's Court. *Thames Advertiser*, 18 June 1881, p. 3.

<sup>209</sup> Magistrate's Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 2 July 1881, p. 3.

<sup>210</sup> Thames Magistrate's Court, Home Warrant Book 1881-1933, 183/1881, BACL 13741/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>211</sup> As he was not involved in Te Aroha mining, his career has not been traced.

<sup>212</sup> Thames Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1881-1883, 230/1881, BACL 13735/1b, ANZ-A; Magistrate's Court, *Thames Star*, 23 July 1881, p. 2.

lawyer, and claimed not to know whether this man 'had a judgment against him' (he did not), but had repaid him £47. He had borrowed £1 10s from another publican, Henry Endres,<sup>213</sup> before paying him £75 from the £280 received from Comer. As well as paying his brother's debt of £25, he had paid a storekeeper £20 and two Maori women £17. 'He admitted he was in the wrong', but had £300 due from Thomas Spencer, from which he would pay Goldwater. 'He also had a piece of land at Te Kawana, which was leased for £20 per annum. He had no horses or cows. He and his brother had a gun between them'.

His lawyer asked that judgment be deferred 'for a fortnight or a month, as arrangements were now being made which would place his client in funds'. This request was declined, as Reha 'had neglected to pay the debt, but had liquidated a number of others not so pressing, and the law must take its course'. If the debt was not satisfied within a fortnight, he would be imprisoned for one month in Mt Eden gaol.<sup>214</sup> At the same hearing, 'on proof of ability to pay order made', he was ordered to pay another judgment summons, for £6 16s, within one month.<sup>215</sup> At Te Aroha, in October, he was sued £18 16s; as this was not paid, a judgment summons was applied for in the following January but then withdrawn, presumably because payment had been made.<sup>216</sup>

All but one of the suits in 1882 were heard in the Te Aroha magistrate's court. An upholsterer sued for £6 3s 9d in January, was not paid, and took out a judgment summons for £6 18s 9d, the hearing of which was adjourned at the plaintiff's request on four occasions; at another hearing Reha did not appear. On 1 November he was ordered to pay within 21 days or be imprisoned in Mt Eden for a month; he paid two weeks later.<sup>217</sup> A bootmaker successfully sued for 17s.<sup>218</sup> In Thames he was sued

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<sup>213</sup> See *Thames Star*, 27 February 1880, p. 2, 7 August 1889, p. 2.

<sup>214</sup> Thames Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1881-1883, Judgment Summons no. 14, BACL 13735/1b, ANZ-A; Magistrate's Court, *Thames Star*, 29 July 1881, p. 2; Magistrate's Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 30 July 1881, p. 3.

<sup>215</sup> Thames Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1881-1883, Judgment Summons no. 14, BACL 13735/1b, ANZ-A; Magistrate's Court, *Thames Star*, 29 July 1881, p. 2.

<sup>216</sup> Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1881-1883, 38/1881, Judgment Summons dated 10 January 1882, BCDG 11221/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>217</sup> Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1881-1884, 4/1882, Judgment Summonses heard on 1 August 1882, 29 August 1882, 26 September 1882, 10 October 1882, 24 October 1882, 1 November 1882, BCDG 11221/1a, ANZ-A.

by Spencer and Perry for £60, due on an agreement.<sup>219</sup> Spencer deposed that they had paid Reha £900 towards the purchase of Te Kawana, but when they discovered they could not acquire this, in March or April 1882 they signed a 21-year lease with him. The rent would go to Reha, who would repay then £60 every year until the government permitted them to buy the land. Reha had remained in possession of the land up to June, and they sued for one year's interest. The agreement was signed in the office of a solicitor, Joshua Cuff,<sup>220</sup> when Reha 'was sober – for a wonder. The document was read to him'. After Perry's corroboration, Reha gave his evidence:

He knew nothing about the agreement produced. The signature was like his. Did not recollect instructing Mr Cuff to draw up any such document. Did not know he had to pay Spencer and Perry £60 a year.

His Worship cautioned the witness to tax his memory on the point as ulterior proceedings might be taken, but he still adhered to his statement that he knew nothing of the document.

His Worship said that either there was a conspiracy to rob the native, or he had grossly perjured himself. He thought the native was too clever by half. It was a matter should not be passed over, and the native punished for his conduct.

The case was adjourned to enable Cuff to give evidence.<sup>221</sup> At the adjourned hearing, Cuff stated that in June 1881 he had prepared the agreement

by the instructions of Reha himself. (Witness quoted several entries from his books in connection with the transaction.) On June 10th the agreement was signed by all the parties in his office. Reha appeared sober at the time. When the agreement was read over to him in his own language he said he understood it and signed it. Was acting on behalf of Reha during the transaction. Had no recollection of having done any business for him previously. Had not the slightest doubt that he understood that the agreement was binding him to pay £60 a year interest to the

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<sup>218</sup> Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1881-1884, 22/1882, BBAV 11221/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>219</sup> Thames Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1881-1883, 211/1882, BACL 13735/1b, ANZ-A.

<sup>220</sup> See *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 1 (Wellington, 1897), p. 1281.

<sup>221</sup> Magistrate's Court, *Thames Star*, 1 September 1882, p. 2.

plaintiffs. Wrote it in the native language so that he would have no opportunity of saying afterwards that he had not understood it, there being no interpreter present.- Judgment went for the amount claimed (£60) with costs, £11 3s. His Worship, addressing Reha, said his statements on oath had been proved absolutely false. He would now be permitted to leave the Court, but must understand that it was quite possible an information would be laid against him for perjury.<sup>222</sup>

This threat was not carried out. From 1883 onwards, there were fewer suits, but these indicated that he either lacked ready money or had to be forced to part with it. In 1883, at Te Aroha, a bootmaker took a judgment summons against him for the meagre amount of £1 10s, which he was ordered to pay within 14 days, in default an identical period to be spent in Mt Eden gaol.<sup>223</sup> When sued by a storekeeper for £20, he admitted owing this amount,<sup>224</sup> and paid it. No suits were recorded in 1884, but there were four in the following year, the largest number in any year for the 1880s and 1890s. In August, James Verrall sued for a dishonoured promissory note for £19 15s. As Reha did not pay, in October a judgment summons was taken against him. Reha told the court that he could not pay:

He had sold a block of land to Government for £37, but some of the proceeds had been taken by other creditors before judgment was given against him, and he had paid other debts for which judgment had not been obtained. Had interests in four blocks which were lately passed through the Native Land Court, and had also goldfields property at Aroha, from which, however, he received no revenue. After being subjected to a lengthy cross-examination as to his income, the witness offered to pay the debt within three months.

The magistrate accepted the proposal, warning that non-fulfilment would mean two months in Mt Eden gaol.<sup>225</sup> The impatient Verrall took out

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<sup>222</sup> Magistrate's Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 16 September 1882, p. 3.

<sup>223</sup> Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1881-1884, Judgment Summons heard on 8 May 1883, BBAV 11221/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>224</sup> Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1881-1884, 136/1883, BBAV 11221/1a, ANZ-A; Magistrate's Court, *Te Aroha News*, 15 September 1883, p. 3.

<sup>225</sup> Thames Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1885-1887, 220/1885, Judgment Summons heard on 16 October 1885, BACL 13735/2b, ANZ-A; Magistrate's Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 17 October 1885, p. 3.

a warrant of committal against him the following day for £24 10s 6d, but no action was taken until February 1886, when he was arrested at Te Aroha under this warrant and sentenced as threatened.<sup>226</sup> As he did not serve any time in Mt Eden gaol,<sup>227</sup> he must have paid, finally. The previous November, when Wilson applied for another judgment summons, for £21 9s 6d. Reha had said he had not been able to pay, but would probably be able to do so in two months' time.

Had received £37 as his share of the proceeds of the Waiwhareki block, and was expecting money from Government for the sale of land at Parawai for a railway station site, besides which he was about to dispose of his interest in the Kaitawa block, Parawai, which comprised nine acres, worth £31 per acre.

He was given until the following June, but warned that the penalty for not paying would be a month in the Shortland Gaol.<sup>228</sup> He did pay, once again being saved from imprisonment by selling land. The last time he was sued in this decade was in 1886, when a Thames ironmonger sought £26 12s.<sup>229</sup>

In 1890 a Thames draper had to sue for £2 1s and a bootmaker for 14s 6d, both debts being paid eventually.<sup>230</sup> Between 1891 and 1897, the year of his death, he was sued at Te Aroha seven times. In 1891 he was successfully sued for £2 2s 9d, £1 2s 6d, £4 17s 3d (which required a judgment summons to force him to pay), £2 11s 6d, £8 18s 7d, and £3 3s.<sup>231</sup> These small sums indicated his poor financial circumstances, caused by wasting his income.

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<sup>226</sup> Thames Magistrate's Court, Home Warrant Book 1881-1933, 220/1885, BACL 13741/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>227</sup> *New Zealand Police Gazette*, 1886.

<sup>228</sup> Thames Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1885-1887, Judgment Summons heard on 6 November 1885, BACL 13735/2b, ANZ-A; Magistrate's Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 7 November 1885, p. 3.

<sup>229</sup> Thames Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1885-1887, 467/1886, BBAV 13735/2b, ANZ-A.

<sup>230</sup> Thames Magistrate's Court, Complaint Book 1890-1895, Civil Record Book 1890-1895, folios 17, 20, 32, 66, BACL 13735/1a; Hearings on 21 July 1890, 9 October 1890, BACL 13737/2a, ANZ-A.

<sup>231</sup> Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1889-1896, 42/1891, 27/1893, 1/1896, BCDG 11221/1c; Civil Record Book 1896-1907, 21/1896, Judgment Summons heard on 6 August 1896, nos. 14, 16, BCDG 11221/2a, ANZ-A.

## DRINK AND VIOLENCE

As noted, Reha was drunk on several occasions, and he clearly had a reputation for excessive drinking. Unless he was the Aperahama who was fined for drunkenness in Thames in 1870,<sup>232</sup> the only time he was convicted of being drunk was at Te Aroha in November 1886. On pleading guilty, he was fined 5s or in default to be imprisoned till the rising of the court: he took the second option.<sup>233</sup> Two other criminal charges may have involved drink. Nine days after being charged with being drunk, he pleaded guilty of ‘committing a breach of the peace within view of a constable’, namely fighting with a Pakeha butcher; he was fined 5s.<sup>234</sup> Six years later he was charged with using threatening language against a Te Aroha farmer, pleaded not guilty, and although the case was dismissed, he was required to pay the costs, £1.<sup>235</sup>

## HORSE RACING

In his younger days, Reha participated in horse races with other Maori and Pakeha, at some financial cost. At the Christmas Sports at Thames in 1873, his horse, provocatively named Te Kooti, failed to win the Cabmen’s Purse. This ‘very fine looking animal’ was winning the Maori Race until he hit an omnibus near the Royal Hotel, bolted up the Tararu Creek tramway, severely cut a forelock, and came in last.<sup>236</sup> The horse recovered sufficiently to come third in the Tararu Railway Stakes two days later.<sup>237</sup> At the Tararu Races on New Year’s Day, Te Kooti came second in the Consolation Stakes. He had been doing well when ‘apparently without reason he stopped, it is

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<sup>232</sup> Police Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 28 September 1870, p. 3.

<sup>233</sup> Armed Constabulary Force, Report of Charges Taken at Te Aroha Lock Up 1880-1902, 42/1886, in private possession; Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1896, 56/1886, BCDG 11220/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>234</sup> Armed Constabulary Force, Report of Charges Taken at Te Aroha Lock Up 1880-1902, 45/1886, in private possession; Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1896, 63/1886, BCDG 11220/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>235</sup> Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1896, 24/1892, BCDG 11220/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>236</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 27 December 1873, p. 3.

<sup>237</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 29 December 1873, p. 3.

said through bad temper'.<sup>238</sup> A month later, in the Parawai Sports, he came in last, both because he was too heavy and because he was 'in a terrible temper. In the preliminary canter he bolted across the river with his rider, and on being brought back a heavier rider had to be placed on his back, who bound up one eye to prevent his bolting again at the same spot'. When the race started, 'Te Kooti would not run, and was therefore a long way behind in the first round'.<sup>239</sup> Nearly five years later, 'Aperahama', possibly his father, and other Te Aroha Maori bought Venus, winner of two Christmas races, for £80.<sup>240</sup>

### A LEADING RANGATIRA

Although many Pakeha would have disapproved of Reha because of his drunkenness and periodic financial embarrassments, despite neither being uncommon amongst Pakeha, in Maori society he was an important figure. An obituary described him as 'a man of much influence among the Maoris and an eloquent speaker'.<sup>241</sup> Another called him the 'head chief' at his pa.<sup>242</sup> 'He took a high rank among the most eloquent and influential of his compatriots. From an early period in his career he was a warm and consistent advocate of the necessity of education among Maori children'.<sup>243</sup> No record of this advocacy has survived. He was reportedly 'one of the twelve chiefs commanding the friendly natives in the Hauraki district'.<sup>244</sup> Clearly he shared his father's support for Pakeha settlement (which through leasing or selling land had raised his standard of living).

Official recognition of his status was illustrated by his being appointed an assessor in the land court in June 1878, when probably aged only 28.<sup>245</sup> He retained this position until his death, an obituary stating that he

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<sup>238</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 3 January 1874, p. 3.

<sup>239</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 2 February 1874, p. 3.

<sup>240</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 30 December 1878, p. 3.

<sup>241</sup> *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 8 May 1897, p. 4.

<sup>242</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 5 May 1897, p. 2.

<sup>243</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 13 May 1897, p. 2.

<sup>244</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 13 May 1897, p. 2.

<sup>245</sup> *New Zealand Gazette*, 20 June 1878, p. 892; for his age, see Church of Latter Day Saints, Record of Members, Early to 1919, Te Aroha Branch, no. 40, LDS Archives, Hamilton.



discharged his duties 'with honour and credit'.<sup>246</sup> In 1870, he had been one of those who went to Piako to induce his father and other rangatira threatened with legal action over their financial dealings to return to Thames.<sup>247</sup> Four years later, 'signing himself an agent of many others', Reha protested at logs being floated down the Kauaeranga River to the Shortland Saw Mill. 'The lands which have been left to us by our ancestors will be destroyed and who will return them to their original state'. He considered 'it would be well for them to first get the owners of the soil's sanction and not for the law to take the initiative'.<sup>248</sup> Later that year, when the principal rangatira met the Superintendent of the Auckland Province, Reha welcomed an English visitor.<sup>249</sup> Three months later, at a meeting with Sir Donald McLean, the Native Minister, he said 'he should like that the talk should last for a long time'.<sup>250</sup> Also in that year he signed the Maori petition against the removal of the magistrate's court from Shortland to Grahamstown.<sup>251</sup> A year later, at another Thames meeting, he complained to Sir George Grey about loss of land through government policy and laxness in paying goldfields revenue.<sup>252</sup> In 1878 he attended the farewell to James Mackay.<sup>253</sup>

Reha supported the rights of his iwi and hapu in particular. For instance, he appeared on behalf of his hapu in the land court and conducted and gave evidence in several cases.<sup>254</sup> In 1880 he represented Ngati Rahiri on a komiti that subdivided Komata No. 1, and the following year tried to alter boundaries when Wairakau was apportioned.<sup>255</sup> A Thames newspaper reported in 1880 that 'Reha Aperahama notifies that all gum diggers on the Waitawheta must pay him a license fee of £1'. His advertisement stated

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<sup>246</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 13 May 1897, p. 2.

<sup>247</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 3 October 1870, p. 2.

<sup>248</sup> Reha Aperahama to Superintendent, Auckland Province, n.d. [c. January 1874], Auckland Provincial Government Papers, ACFM 8180, 3512/74, ANZ-A.

<sup>249</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 14 September 1874, p. 3.

<sup>250</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 12 December 1874, p. 3.

<sup>251</sup> Auckland Provincial Government Papers, ACFM 8180, 1394/74, ANZ-A.

<sup>252</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 6 December 1875, p. 3.

<sup>253</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 14 September 1878, p. 3.

<sup>254</sup> For example, Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 3, p. 181; Hauraki Minute Book no. 28A, p. 151.

<sup>255</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 30, p. 112; G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 27 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

that portion of this area belonged to Ngati Rahiri, and contained 'a Great Quantity of Kauri Gum'.<sup>256</sup> In 1883 his name was the only one cited and must therefore have been the first listed on a petition to parliament by 26 Maori protesting that it was 'alleged by a Government official that Tanahawaero, between Katikati and Te Aroha, is confiscated land. They protest against this as an act of injustice'. (The Native Affairs Committee discovered that the land had been confiscated, returned, and then bought by the government. Maori claimed portion had not been purchased, 'though the vagueness of the petition makes the matter otherwise unintelligible'.)<sup>257</sup> A minor example was his impounding of four cattle that strayed onto Maori land at Te Aroha.<sup>258</sup>

In the second election to a committee to oversee the interests of Hauraki Maori, in 1890, Reha was elected, joining his brother.<sup>259</sup> Early in its deliberations, he moved that a proper meeting room was required, and recommended that they use the old Shortland courthouse.<sup>260</sup> This committee ceased shortly afterwards.<sup>261</sup> He was probably the 'R. Aperahama' who attended a meeting of the Maori Parliament at Te Waipato, Hawkes Bay, in 1893, whose suggestion that Mere Te Tai Mangakahia explain her ideas on women's suffrage to them was accepted.<sup>262</sup> In the last year of his life, he was present at the opening of the new meeting house at Tui Pa, and three months later (when living at Kirikiri, near Thames) stood for the Western Maori electorate.<sup>263</sup> Out of 13 candidates, he came ninth.<sup>264</sup> This was the second time he had contested this seat.<sup>265</sup>

## RELIGION

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<sup>256</sup> *Thames Star*, 28 February 1880, p. 2, including advertisement.

<sup>257</sup> 'Reports of Native Affairs Committee', *AJHR*, 1883, I-2, p. 6.

<sup>258</sup> *Te Aroha News*, 19 November 1887, p. 2.

<sup>259</sup> G.T. Wilkinson to Native Minister, 6 May 1890, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 23/13b, ANZ-W.

<sup>260</sup> Report by Hoani Nahe, 12 July 1890, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 23/13b, ANZ-W.

<sup>261</sup> See paper on Aihe Pepene.

<sup>262</sup> Angela Ballara, 'Wahine Rangatira: Maori Women of Rank and their Role in the Women's Kotahitanga Movement of the 1890s', *New Zealand Journal of History*, vol. 27 no. 2 (October 1993), p. 133.

<sup>263</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 25 September 1896, p. 2, 17 December 1896, p. 2.

<sup>264</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 22 December 1896, p. 4.

<sup>265</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 13 May 1897, p. 2.

When a soiree was held at Te Aroha in August 1881 to celebrate the opening of the Wesleyan church, Reha expressed (in Maori: Lipsey translated) ‘pleasure at being present and seeing such a fine place of worship erected, and hoped all would attend it’.<sup>266</sup> He did not take his own advice; the Wesleyan attitude to alcohol would have discouraged any interest he might have had in this denomination. Five years later, he was baptized into the Mormon faith, and on the same day was appointed a deacon. In 1889 he became an elder, and in September 1896 a priest.<sup>267</sup> On his death he was described as ‘a leading light amongst the Mormons’, who buried him according to their rites.<sup>268</sup>

### PRIVATE LIFE

Curious evidence was given in the Thames magistrate’s court in December 1881, when Reha accused Himiona Wiremu with stealing his horse, valued at £8. Reha deposed that he had taken the horse from Rota, who had bought it from Himiona. Reha said ‘he didn’t buy it, he asked for it. He didn’t give his wife for the horse. The accused gave the horse to Rota. He didn’t know what arrangement had been made between Himiona and Rota in regard to his wife’. At which point the magistrate determined that this was a dispute over ownership, not a case of larceny, and told Reha he must take civil proceedings if he wanted the horse returned.<sup>269</sup> This was the *Thames Star* account; the report in the *Thames Advertiser* had Reha saying that he believed Rota had obtained the horse from Himiona ‘as a gift. He had not heard of any arrangement about the exchange of the horse for Rota’s wife’.<sup>270</sup> Although the first evidence suggested it was Reha’s wife who was exchanged for a horse, this was unlikely, as he was ‘between wives’ at that time.

Details of how Reha married his first wife, Kera Tutea, was given in 1907, when Aroha Block IX Section 25 was before the land court, because

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<sup>266</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 12 August 1881, p. 3.

<sup>267</sup> Church of Latter Day Saints, Record of Members, Early to 1919, Te Aroha Branch, no. 40; Record of Ordinations to the Priesthood in the Te Aroha Branch of the New Zealand Mission, p. 2, LDS Archives, Hamilton.

<sup>268</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 12 May 1897, p. 2.

<sup>269</sup> Magistrate’s Court, *Thames Star*, 14 December 1881, p. 2.

<sup>270</sup> Police Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 15 December 1881, p. 3.

Reha had made her an owner after they married.<sup>271</sup> According to Piahana Hou, Kera was a member of Ngati Haua and Ngati Koroki, but he did not know her whakapapa nor the name of her mother. She lived at Maungatautari, and when a meeting was held at Te Aroha accompanied Titipo (not her mother) to it. 'Reha & Kera saw each other & fell in love. After the meeting, Titipo & Kera ret home to Pukekaraha (bet. Piraunui & Waitoa)'.

Kera had arr. that Reha & I should go to Pukekaraha, & she wd elope with Reha. When we got there, she joined us, & Reha took her away. We came to Paeroa, & went by steamer to the Thames. This was I think before the Ohinemuri g.f. was opened. (1875).... We were at Thames one night. The next day Titipo came, & wept over her "tamahine" [daughter].<sup>272</sup> Reha allowed Kera to go back with Titipo. When they got to Paeroa, they stayed here two days. Then we came from Thames to Paeroa & found them here. Then they went by canoe to Te Aroha. We went on horseback, & got there first. When the canoe arrived, Kera went with Reha to his home. And Titipo went back home alone. Kera's matua had aroha for her. And they came & agreed to the marriage. So she was given to Reha as a wife.<sup>273</sup>

Kera died at Te Aroha, in Reha's presence, in June 1880. As she had no children, Reha and her father, Tutea Te Karana, for whom Reha 'always had aroha', succeeded to her interest in Omahu Pa and Aroha Block IX Section 25.<sup>274</sup> According to Piahana Hou, when Kera died her father and sisters attended the tangi at Te Aroha. Tutea Te Karana said his daughter 'Kera 11', otherwise Hera Tutea, 'should be a 2nd wife for Reha', but she refused to marry him.<sup>275</sup> According to Rewi Mokena, after Kera's death 'Iriwhata came with Tutea, to offer his second daughter to Reha as a wife'. Iriwhata has not been traced, and Reha did not marry his daughter, but Reha included him in Section 26 because of this offer.<sup>276</sup> Then Rewi changed

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<sup>271</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 56, p. 114.

<sup>272</sup> P.M. Ryan, *The New Dictionary of Modern Maori* (Wellington, 1974), p. 41.

<sup>273</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 56, pp. 115-116.

<sup>274</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 15, pp. 155-156; no. 56, p. 117; Aroha Block IX Section 25, Block Files, H1084, Maori Land Court, Hamilton.

<sup>275</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 56, p. 117.

<sup>276</sup> For his ownership of this land, see Aroha Block IX Section 26, Block Files, H1734, Maori Land Court, Hamilton.

his evidence, and said the reason Iriwhata was included was because he had come with Tutea Te Karana to acknowledge the marriage of Kera and Reha.<sup>277</sup> Rewi added, without explanation, that 'Kera was not given as a wife to Reha, thro. relationship'.<sup>278</sup>

In 1905, when Aroha Block XII Section 38 was before the court, Hakari Paraone, husband of Herareeta Paraone, who had been Rewi Mokena's first wife, described Reha's second known relationship. Taituha Moewaka had married Moewaka Hou, sister of Piahana Hou, of Ngati Rahiri.<sup>279</sup> One whakapapa showed her as the younger of his two sisters, who were older than him; another whakapapa made her younger than him.<sup>280</sup> Moewaka had married Taituha, a landless Ngapuhi, in 1869, when he was given the name Taituha Moewaka and she, through aroha, made him an owner of Aroha Block XII Sections 28 and 38.<sup>281</sup> Little is known about his life, as there was more than one Taituha. He had shares in a Waiorongomai claim in 1882, and employed a half-caste, James Gordon,<sup>282</sup> to cut timber two years later.<sup>283</sup> Possibly he was involved in mining at Thames in the early years of mining and at Tairua in 1887.<sup>284</sup> When he died in 1902 he was 'a very old man'.<sup>285</sup> They had no children.

Hakari Paraone explained that Moewaka 'committed a hara', meaning a sin or an offence,<sup>286</sup> 'with Reha. And N. Rahiri gave the land to the wronged husband Taituha, as payment'. Moewaka lived permanently with Reha until her death. 'It was in 1881 that Taituha's wife left him. In 1882 she left him for good. The matter was examined into by a komiti at Te Aroha. The policeman was present. The komiti decided that Moeweka

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<sup>277</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 56, p. 122.

<sup>278</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 56, p. 124.

<sup>279</sup> See chapter on his life.

<sup>280</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 62, p. 280; no. 63, p. 157.

<sup>281</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 54, p. 337.

<sup>282</sup> See paper on his life.

<sup>283</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Licensed Holdings 1881-1887, folio 63, BBAV 11500/9a, ANZ-A; Warden's Court, *Te Aroha News*, 9 August 1884, p. 2.

<sup>284</sup> Thames Magistrate's Court, Register of Miners' Rights 1870, no. 9587, BACL 14358/3b; Shortland Claims Register 1870, no. 2185, BACL 14397/5a; Warden's Notebook 1870, entry for 8 June 1870, BACL 14457/2b, ANZ-A; *Thames Advertiser*, 4 November 1887, p. 2.

<sup>285</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 53, p. 83.

<sup>286</sup> Ryan, p. 12.

should return to her husband', but she did not.<sup>287</sup> Rewi's statement that the hara had taken place in 1884 was confirmed by Haora Tareranui's evidence that 'Reha took Moewaka as wife' in that year.<sup>288</sup> Hoera denied that any land had been given for his behaviour. 'It was brought before the R M Court. Who said the woman must please herself'.<sup>289</sup> That this was not a formal hearing was indicated by Rewi stating that the magistrate had told a constable to bring the parties before him in 1882 (which contradicted his earlier dating). 'Mr Kenrick asked the woman which husband she preferred. She said Reha, so Kenrick so decided. There was no komiti. My father was the only person who objected to Moewaka marrying Reha'.<sup>290</sup>

After being abandoned by his wife, Taituha left Te Aroha to live with Henareeta Paraone and her husband at Hikutaia, and remained there until his death.<sup>291</sup> Moewaka's date of death is uncertain, but she died before October 1886.<sup>292</sup> In August 1889 her interest in Aroha Block XII Section 38 was awarded to her brother and sister.<sup>293</sup> The Moewaka who became a Mormon in 1895 and lived until 1915 was in fact her only surviving sister, Mei Hou, who assumed her name after her death.<sup>294</sup> A whakapapa given to the land court in 1914 estimated her date of death as 1900. She left no children.<sup>295</sup>

It seems that Reha left his second wife before her death, for in August 1887 he told the court that Maraea Mere Peka, formerly married to Keepa Te Wharau,<sup>296</sup> was his wife.<sup>297</sup> Keepa had died in June 1885, and as his sister noted tartly, Maraea 'was a widow a very short time'.<sup>298</sup> Keepa left

<sup>287</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 54, pp. 332, 334.

<sup>288</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 54, pp. 333, 336.

<sup>289</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 54, p. 336.

<sup>290</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 54, p. 338.

<sup>291</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 54, pp. 332, 334.

<sup>292</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 19, p. 38; no. 22, p. 278.

<sup>293</sup> Aroha Block XII Section 38, Block Files, H987, Maori Land Court, Hamilton.

<sup>294</sup> Church of Latter Day Saints, Record of Members, Early to 1919, Te Aroha Branch, no. 17F, LDS Archives, Hamilton; Memorandum of Henry Dunbar Johnson, 26 April 1913, Te Aroha No. 1 file, Block Files, H792, Maori Land Court, Hamilton; Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 19, p. 38.

<sup>295</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 63, p. 157.

<sup>296</sup> See paper on his life.

<sup>297</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 19, p. 101.

<sup>298</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 28A, p. 39.

two children, a daughter, Pititi Te Wharau, aged four in October 1886, and a son, Paerutu Tutuki,<sup>299</sup> then aged one. After the Maori policeman, Te Meke Ngakuru, told the court that their mother ‘was not a fit person to be trustee of these children’, it appointed Harete Te Wharau and another person.<sup>300</sup> However, although in 1887 her daughter was living with Hoani Pahau, she had ‘charge of the boy’.<sup>301</sup> In 1895, her daughter came back from Thames into her care and was sent to school in Te Aroha, but her son never went to this school,<sup>302</sup> and was brought up by others. In 1898, Hutana Karapuha, a relative,<sup>303</sup> informed the court that Harete Te Wharau had died and that he wished to replace her as a trustee, as the children were living with him.<sup>304</sup>

The reason why the court made others trustees for her children was not because, unlike Reha, she had had no education,<sup>305</sup> but because, like him, she had a weakness for drink.<sup>306</sup> Despite this, as in his case she was accepted into the Mormon faith, being baptized in November 1886,<sup>307</sup> probably after starting to live with Reha.

Two years after Reha’s death, Maraea was excommunicated by her church ‘for adultery’, but was re-baptized a year later.<sup>308</sup> Her new liaison, with one Ross, produced Hinekahukura Te Hemapo, born discreetly in Waikato either in the January of 1900 or 1901. She was called January Ross when sent to school, first at Te Aroha and then at Victoria College in Auckland.<sup>309</sup> When Maraea died in 1927, at Tui Pa, she was recorded as

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<sup>299</sup> For their full names, see Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 28A, p. 16.

<sup>300</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 19, p. 31.

<sup>301</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 19, p. 101.

<sup>302</sup> Te Aroha School, Admissions Register no. 2 (1889-1897), no. 929, Primary School Archives, Te Aroha.

<sup>303</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 52, p. 249.

<sup>304</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 47, p. 147.

<sup>305</sup> Armed Constabulary Force, Report of Charges taken at Te Aroha Lock Up 1880-1903, 8/1903, in private possession.

<sup>306</sup> See paper on Keepa Te Wharau.

<sup>307</sup> Church of Latter Day Saints, Record of Members, Early to 1919, Te Aroha Branch, no. 3F, LDS Archives, Hamilton.

<sup>308</sup> Church of Latter Day Saints, Record of Members, Early to 1919, Te Aroha Branch, nos. 3F, 78F, LDS Archives, Hamilton.

<sup>309</sup> Church of Latter Day Saints, Records of Members, Early to 1919, Te Aroha Branch, no. 94F; Record of Children Blest in the Te Aroha Branch of the New Zealand Mission, no.

married to Mita,<sup>310</sup> of whom nothing is known. Her two surviving children, her sons by Keepa and Ross, sold a block of land at Te Aroha to pay for her tangi.<sup>311</sup> Her daughter had died during the influenza epidemic of 1918, aged 34.<sup>312</sup>

## DEATH

In May 1897, after an illness lasting eight days, Reha died of typhoid at Tui Pa at an unrecorded age.<sup>313</sup> He was buried there after a large tangi involving Waikato, Ngati Tamatera, and Ngati Maru.<sup>314</sup> The views of the Te Aroha newspaper are not known because of the loss of its files for that period, but an obituary in a Thames newspaper stated that he ‘early gave promise of possessing more than usual ability – a promise that was amply fulfilled in after years’.<sup>315</sup> As he had not fathered any children, despite the proven fertility of his last wife, his property went to his brother.<sup>316</sup>

## MARAEA MERE PEKA AFTER HIS DEATH

After the death of Reha, Maraea Mere Peka sought to remove restrictions on the sale of some of her land. In addition to interests she had received from ancestry, in April 1889 Reha had asked that his section, just over five acres, in Toetoeokino should be given to her.<sup>317</sup> The following month, he sought the subdivision of Aroha Block V Section 5, of 750 acres, on the Omaha part of the Aroha Block. ‘He has to go away thro serious illness of his wife – and wishes subdivision to be made at once’. She was

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48F, LDS Archives, Hamilton; Te Aroha School, Admissions Register no. 4 (1904-1918), nos. 2944, 3021, 3064, Primary School Archives, Te Aroha.

<sup>310</sup> Death Certificate of Maria Merepeka, 8 August 1927, 1927/12810, BDM.

<sup>311</sup> Maori Affairs Department, Hamilton, BCAS A203, no. 13653, ANZ-A.

<sup>312</sup> Death Certificate of Petiti Te Wharau [recorded as Tewharau], 1 December 1918, 1918/16515, BDM.

<sup>313</sup> *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 8 May 1897, p. 4; *Thames Advertiser*, 13 May 1897, p. 2.

<sup>314</sup> *Waikato Argus*, 6 May 1897, p. 2, 8 May 1897, p. 3; *Thames Advertiser*, 12 May 1897, p. 2.

<sup>315</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 13 May 1897, p. 2.

<sup>316</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 13 May 1897, p. 2; Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 46, p. 344.

<sup>317</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 20, p. 128.



allotted just over 168 acres as Section 5B, to be known as Whakarau; it was made inalienable.<sup>318</sup> She leased just over 69 acres to a Pakeha farmer, William Hetherington,<sup>319</sup> in 1898, at 2s an acre, and the following year, at her request, restrictions on sale were removed and she sold her interest to him for an undisclosed amount.<sup>320</sup> From 1899 onwards she sought to sell several blocks to Pakeha, playing one off against another even after taking advances.<sup>321</sup> With Rewi Mokena, in April 1899 she spoke to James Carroll, soon to be the Native Minister, about removing this restriction, but as no action was taken interviewed him again in 1902 in the company of Rewi and the local parliamentarian.<sup>322</sup> By that time Rewi opposed the proposal, prompting her to write to Carroll: 'Do not hearken to the statements of Rewi Mokena with regard to my lands at Te Aroha I do not agree to Rewi Mokena managing my affairs, he is a tricky person, and unreliable'.<sup>323</sup> A month later, Rewi wrote opposing the removal of restrictions on one block because she had no other land and he worried about what would happen to her three children. 'So then O Mr Carroll, do not allow these children to be impoverished. This is what she says about her children, "What do I care about these children?" That woman drinks, she has no understanding'.<sup>324</sup> In 1902 Carroll promised to recommend the removal of restrictions so that she would have money 'for food or to keep her out of Gaol'.<sup>325</sup> Subsequently Carroll was informed by Ngati Rahiri 'that she had made no provision for her children – This altered the position entirely', and he declined the

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<sup>318</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 21, p. 43.

<sup>319</sup> See *Te Aroha News*, 29 November 1933, p. 1, 9 March 1934, p. 7, 6 January 1941, p. 1.

<sup>320</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 46, p. 343; no. 52, p. 249; Peter Gilchrist to Minister of Native Lands, 15 September 1899, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 00/1059, ANZ-W.

<sup>321</sup> For details, see Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 06/1059, ANZ-W.

<sup>322</sup> Maraea Mere Peka to James Carroll, 14 July 1900; W.H. Herries to James Carroll, 27 August 1902, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 06/1059, ANZ-W.

<sup>323</sup> Maraea Mere Peka to James Carroll, 18 November 1902, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 06/1059, ANZ-W.

<sup>324</sup> Rewi Mokena to James Carroll, 30 December 1902, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 06/1059, ANZ-W.

<sup>325</sup> William Hetherington to James Carroll, 3 January 1905, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1 06/1059, ANZ-W.

application.<sup>326</sup> The land council permitted the sale of 50 acres of this block to her daughter Hinekahukura, 'said to be landless', but Carroll retained restrictions on the remainder.<sup>327</sup>

Because of indebtedness, often to potential purchasers who gave her money on account, steadily she arranged leases and sales of more of the land she and her children had inherited.<sup>328</sup> Concerns were expressed again in 1910 about how she treated the children, when a Pakeha asked the Native Land Board that the £300 she had obtained from one sale be paid 'say about £20.0.0 per month' through the local constable. 'She has Children going to School – and absolutely no food for them – in fact they are on the verge of starvation'.<sup>329</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Reha Aperahama, a leader of his hapu, was most notable for acquiring and sell as much land as he could to ease his financial difficulties. A staunch opponent of Ngati Haua, he followed his father's example by welcoming Pakeha settlement, probably in his case for financial reasons. His marital complications were also notable.

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<sup>326</sup> Memorandum of James Carroll, 14 September 1903; James Carroll to E.G.B. Moss, 14 September 1903, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 06/1059, ANZ-W.

<sup>327</sup> Memorandum of decision of District Maori Land Council, 11 July 1905; James Carroll to Hugh Poland, 10 January 1907, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 06/1059, ANZ-W; Aroha Block V Section 5B, Maori Affairs Department, Hamilton, BCAS A102, 1903/133, ANZ-A.

<sup>328</sup> See Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books no. 46, p. 343; no. 52, p. 249; no. 66, p. 99; Aroha Block IX Section 29, Block Files, H982; Aroha Block XII Section 28, Block Files, H985, Maori Land Court, Hamilton; Valuation Department, Ohinemuri County Council, Waitoa Riding, 1 April 1908, folios 13, 14, 47, BBBC A150/647; Aroha Block 5 Section 5B, Maori Affairs Department, Hamilton, BACS A102/3042, ANZ-A; Aroha Block XII Section 41, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 06/317; Aroha Block V Section 2, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 06/1215; Aroha Block XI Section 29B No. 2, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 07/456; Aroha Block IX Section 28, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 08/164, ANZ-W.

<sup>329</sup> James Fitzgerald to Native Land Board, Auckland, 12 October 1910, Aroha Block 5 Section 5B, Maori Affairs Department, Hamilton, BCAS A102/3042, ANZ-A.